

**INSIDE: The economic outlook for 1984**

# Maclean's

JANUARY 16, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

## Jackson steals the show

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**Striking  
the deal in  
Damascus**

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**Shaking  
up the  
Democrats**



**U.S. presidential candidate Jesse Jackson**

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# Maclean's

JANUARY 14, 1994 VOL. 37 NO. 3

## COVER

### Jackson steals the show

Democratic presidential candidate Ross Perot's spectacular mission to Syria, and the release last week of U.S. prisoner Gen. Robert O. Goodman, rivaled the attention of Americans on the charismatic upstart. The diplomatic coup provided a needed boost for the outsider in the race and established Jackson as a potential power broker. — Page 24

COVER PHOTO BY ANDREW STOKER/STOCK PHOTO



### A plan for Nigeria

In his first act as Nigeria's new leader, Maj.-Gen. Abdulsalam Abacha promised to restore economic health and end rampant corruption among officials. — Page 36



### Visions of success

The CBC comedy/mystery *Sorcerer Thugs*, starring Louis Del Grande, is the network's most evidently acclaimed dramatic series and its biggest money-maker. — Page 37



### The politics of '84

As the new year gets under way, the key question is the provinces and in the federal capital was familiar—whether Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau will stay or go. — Page 38



### Insights into dyslexia

Until recently doctors believed that dyslexia was a psychological disorder. Now new research has detected structural abnormalities in dyslexic brains. — Page 45

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## Crossed references

In your Dec. 28 cover story, *The missile terrorist*, you show a picture of a young man with a gun wearing two crosses around his neck. Description reads "Islamic Amal gunman in Beirut." How can a man wearing a Christian cross be Islamic? The problems in the Middle East are difficult enough without ambiguous reporting. —MEL CHATTERTON

Ottawa

*Editor's note: the crosses are insignias taken from the bodies of dead Christian Palestinians.*

## A borderline dispute

Your Dec. 5 issue has one item in the long list of false statements concerning the murders of the Johnson-Bentley families (drown in cucumber murders, Canada). It states that the remains were found in the White Gray Provincial Park. That is not true.

—KEVIN S. EARL,  
Clearwater, B.C.

*Editor's note: according to Sgt. Mike Basham of the Kamloops detachment of the RCMP, the bodies were found on the border of the park and, as far as the Mounties are concerned, were in the park.*

## Understated profits

I would like to point out that some figures in the article on corporate profits in the Nov. 28 *Business/Company* section (*Warning, a Split for corporate success*) were based on a previously published earnings survey which unfortunately identified as third-quarter profits what were actually the second-quarter



Gunman with trophies of war: ambiguous

ter earnings for our company and other retailers who follow the common industry custom of having fiscal years that end in late January. The Dylex earnings quoted in the article were for the second quarter, which ended July 30. The same week as your issue appeared, we announced results for the period ended Oct. 29 with net earnings of \$4.5 million for the third quarter this year, compared with \$4.3 million a year earlier.

—WILFRED FORSLING,  
President, Dylex Ltd.,  
Toronto

The reference to Consumers Distributing Co. in a Nov. 28 article was based on a corporate profit survey that included the second-quarter results for this company, among others, in a survey of third-quarter profits. Our results for the third quarter ended Oct. 29 were released on Nov. 15, showing a profit of \$2 million for the quarter compared with \$1.4 million a year ago and a 20-week profit of \$1.5 million compared with \$200,000. Consumers Distributing has not been plagued with losses as your article states. The company has earned a profit in every one of the 15 years since it went public in 1968.

—DAVE SUTCH,  
Chairman of the Board and CEO,  
Consumers Distributing Co. Ltd.,  
Rensselaire, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. For editorial comments, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to Letters to the Editor, *Weekend magazine*, Mail Room, Hunter Building, 777 Hwy. 8, Toronto, Ont. M5P 1A3.

## PASSAGES

**BORE:** To Vanessa Harwood, 25, principal dancer with the National Ballet of Canada, and her husband, Dr. Hugh Scully, a heart surgeon, a daughter, Shannon Harwood Scully, the couple's first child, is Toronto.

**BORE:** To Sara Kays, 35, former secretary of Cecil Parkhouse, 52, the former British Conservative cabinet minister, a daughter, Fiona Elizabeth Parkhouse, who has been married to Ann Jarvis since 1997, resigned last October when his affair with Kays became public.

**APPOINTED:** Jody Wish, 40, former press secretary to Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed, as director of public relations for federally owned Petro-Canada. The company's critics have accused Petro-Canada of "Tory shopping" during its six-month search in anticipation of a Conservative government.

**DEEN:** Gerald Prophet, 61, the Canadian country-and-western singer best known for his hits *Wife After Wife* and *Made a Mountain*, of a heart attack, in Ottawa. Prophet was one of the first Canadians to record in Nashville.

**DEEN:** Alma Grove, 87, a Michigan clan mother and Six Nations historian, in Brantford, Ont. Grove, the author of *Forbidden Voice and Ties of the Mohawks*, said that in the early 1990s chiefs of the Six Nations Confederacy owned the site of the Brantford Market Square because it had never been ceded legally to the city. Brantford Mayor Dave Newman said that there is some documentation supporting the city's ownership and denies any connection between the nurse and the several failed development attempts on the square over the past 20 years.

**DEEN:** Richard Hughes, 77, the colorful Australian foreign and war correspondent for numerous Australian and British publications, a Par East expert and the model for Old Crow in John le Carré's *The Honourable Schoolboy*, of a liver ailment, in Hong Kong. Hughes, a journalist for more than 40 years, also worked for Ian Fleming when the latter was the foreign editor for *The Sunday Times* (in 1946) and appeared in his 1964 James Bond movie, *You Only Live Twice*, as 00600 Henderson.

**DEEN:** Alexis Korner, 58, the British musician who was the prime mover behind the early 1960s British blues boom, influencing such groups as The Rolling Stones, of lung cancer, in London. Korner was the former leader of Blues Incorporated and C.C.C. and had his own BBC radio program.



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## Giscard's comeback bid

In the breezy luxury of a Vail, Colo., seminar on the state of the world last summer, a reporter asked Valéry Giscard d'Estaing how he felt being out of power. With the politician's aloofness that contributed to his humiliating defeat in May 1981, the exiled French president refused to answer. But later

he drew the reporter aside to confide: "How does it feel?" About the same way you feel when you write a story that does not get in the paper. "Now, after 20 years of travelling and self-imposed silence, the embittered Giscard, 57, has launched a campaign to win back a ray of the political sunlight from his ex-

cessor, President François Mitterrand, and his two rivals for the leadership of the Opposition—his former prime minister, Raymond Barre, and Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac. In a slits of interviews and speeches beginning last summer that will culminate in the publication of his latest political reminiscences early this spring, Giscard is presenting himself as a rejuvenated man of vision and experience, ready to save France from the perils of socialism with a recycled centrist doctrine that he calls "Social Liberalism."

The political wilderness has been all the more trying for a man who found himself transformed overnight from the Western head of state possessing what many considered to be the greatest personal power to a political pariah with virtually no power base within his own country. In 1974 the French electorate swept him into the Elysée Palace as a kind of Gallic John F. Kennedy who combined a wealthy aristocratic bearing with the folksy package that prompted him to have breakfast with garbage collectors. When Mitterrand's Socialists swept to power in 1981, Giscard no longer had

*Giscard is attempting to come back from the political wilderness, but France appears not to want him*

even a seat in the National Assembly, having resigned it when he became president. By that time, Giscard's powerful prime minister, Jacques Chirac, had already defected and was head of the erstwhile Gaullist Party and mayor of Paris. Giscard, leader of the tiny Republican Party, had no similar power base on which to rely.

There were also bad memories of his arrogant and scandal-ridden administration, including charges of a suspected covering of a gift of diamonds to Giscard from his old hunting camp, then Central African Republic Governor Jean-Bédou Bokassa. The former president had to start virtually from scratch in rebuilding his political base. Giscard first emerged from his solitude nearly a year after his defeat, during the local elections of 1982. At the time he sought to re-establish his public humility by running for—and winning—one of the lowest offices in France: cantonal councillor (local representative) for the commune of Chavagnac, an affluent suburb of 10,000 in central France that had been his personal fief for 34 years.

France's reaction to Giscard's return has been lukewarm. Last fall, when he

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so easy. Actually, once experienced, it's  
as easy as 1-2-3. So write now to Joanne

took a seat on the 16-man board of the  
Union for French Emergency Relief, the  
organization he formed from these parties  
in 1978, there were grumblers from  
within that he was again trying to  
throw his weight around. And his  
speech to the union's parliamentary  
conference last October attracted only  
two days after the election. Bernier won a  
personal triumph with the same group.  
An old follower, Claude Wolf, who ap-  
peared in 1982 as a member of the National  
Assembly for the Chaudières  
région and who plans to run for the  
European parliament elections next  
June, has agreed to lead the assembly  
sent back to his old post, which would  
give Girouard a wider national platform.  
Instead of relying on that offer, Girouard  
has concentrated on his cherished ideal  
of re-creating a national political movement  
on the basis of a personal  
appeal and the needs of the era. In a  
series of TV appearances and inter-  
views, he has expounded the vague lib-  
eralism and reduced economic theories  
he has long held on his own vision  
disseminated by Mitterrand on the Left and  
by Chirac's recent alliance with the  
extreme right-wing National Front. De-  
clared the former president last  
November to an audience of his young fol-  
lowers: "I am fighting for a reconstruc-  
tion of France."

Not all Presidents are convinced of  
the nobility of Girouard's intentions. He  
stepped up his attack on Mitterrand's  
policies promptly after receiving an in-  
vitation to the Elysée to contribute to  
the president's preparations for last  
May's 19th anniversary summit. His public  
dismissal of Bernier last summer as  
"nothing more than an economic"  
homesteader, and the former prime  
minister has outstripped his old boss in  
popularity polls. And there are no signs  
of a trace in Girouard's long-standing  
friend with de la Roche Oppenheim  
Chirac, the man he accused of "premeditated treason" after his presidential  
defeat two years ago. Chirac now claims  
58 per cent of popular support against  
Girouard's 40. In the polls, however, it's  
Girouard's ally, Bernard, who is  
seen to oppose the Socialist in the  
next presidential election in 1990.

At his personal office on Paris's elite  
rue des Capucines, the 65-year-old  
staff still carefully refers to Girouard as  
"the president." And his faithful em-  
ployees are still his friends. The former  
minister of the interior, Yves Michel de  
Poncet, has been touring him once more as  
the best presidential candidate. But the  
greatest threat to the comeback may be  
the candidate himself. As a public  
opinion poll published last July by the  
left-wing newspaper, *Quotidien de  
Paris*, revealed, 65 per cent of  
Frenchmen now consider Valéry Gi-  
rouard d'Enfer, a "man of the past."

—MARC MCARDONALD in Paris

## COLUMN

# Why people distrust the press

By Fred Bruning

Among the most striking peculiarities  
of the American democracy is  
the suspicion of our people with  
democratic values. It is not un-  
usual for one party, frustrated with the  
point of view of another, to suggest that  
its antagonist deserves more respect.  
The obvious. Typically, that kind of ad-  
vice is delivered in the form of harsh  
interrogative. "Oh, yeah, sure," a person  
might say. "You don't like it, why don't  
you show off for Bush?" Glibbling about  
the rights and responsibilities of a  
citizen in an open society—why have  
free speech if its exercise is considered  
treasonous?—seems little more than  
further disapprobation. "How it out  
your ear" is the way the matter often is  
settled.

Eager to purge all delinquent individ-  
uals, many Americans apparently would  
see pecking that most suspect of institu-  
tions as well—that is, the press. In  
these busy days following the assault  
on Grenada, our people delighted more  
than just a victory of several thousand  
American soldiers over an enemy com-  
posed largely of Cuban henchmen and  
bewildered local conscripts. Also  
thwarted was the media establishment,  
a consequence less well noted.

Ministry strategists had forbidden re-  
porters access to the battlefield during  
the assault, citing the difficulties and  
dangers attendant with such an enter-  
prise. And, in fact, held communications  
a small group of journalists who posed  
a threat by way of a short-lived fab-  
ricated lie. During the most critical  
hours of the campaign, the government  
was able to carry out a questionable  
operation unopposed by outside ob-  
servers. The rest of Part 82 was  
recovered only by military command  
and control, and the press was  
this way was history poured into  
moulds and marketed like chocolate  
kisses.

Reporters snarled, and media execu-  
tives agitated long hairbrushes to  
dispute the crisis. The public, on the other  
hand, seemed delighted. "I just want  
you to know the press had no business  
in Grenada and I'm glad they kept you  
out," said a caller to a New York news-  
paper. "We loved it!" the fellow added,  
speaking one was invited to believe, for  
the times of delinquent citizens who do  
not carry their burden in their back  
pockets or seek comments from that of  
him. Surveys proved the caller correct. The  
media got swallowed in the Caribbean,

and who could say which was more in-  
spiring, the defeat of Galt or of Dan  
Kutler? A series by The New York  
Times made the point well. The writer  
noted that during the Second World  
War journalists routinely accompanied  
troops, but, in those days, he said, "All  
our reporters were on our side."

Since Vietnam, that's not true. Viet-  
nam—the press has been regarded as a  
contrary force ruled by its own dy-  
namic nature and insistent for over-  
sight. The war did not go as planned,  
and, worse, the whole mass kept show-  
ing up on television and in the news-  
papers and magazines. Free fire  
punishment. Fraying Mr. Lee  
Ho-chung. The offensive Vietnamese  
troops, trouble, trouble. Who needed  
such trouble? Spore Agnew, a former  
federal spokesman, derided the "nat-  
ional network of vagabonds" who headed  
public officials, and some in the Reagan  
administration have similar outlooks.

**"When the United States  
invaded Grenada,  
history was poured into  
moulds and marketed  
like chocolate kisses"**

Larry Speakes, the presidential  
spokesman, recently claimed that two  
reporters peeked at documents on the  
decks of White House sides and dashed  
away in the hope of developing stories.  
The commander was then publicly  
announced later, adding the reporters  
had broken "like make" and revealed  
what hopeless bones amidst the press  
room. Speakes did not complain that  
stories were published both true, only  
that, "public relations was a plain  
choice. What exactly was proven then  
is not quite clear other than that the  
president's spokesman might better be  
employed as a production assistant on  
Candid Camera.

Twisting the press is a great sport,  
even in the serious, they are given the  
idea that our destiny is assured and  
that so one need mention of something  
serious. Along the line, we may  
have come to think it wise to leave well  
enough alone—to cancel our subscrip-  
tions, turn out the lights and pretend  
there is conflict even in affliction.

comfortable," remains the trouble's most  
daunting aphorism.

The survey shows that the public  
doesn't want to be protected, at least  
not by the press. A recent survey by the  
National Opinion Research Center in  
Chicago showed that only 13.7 per cent  
of those questioned had confidence in  
journalists. They found that news re-  
porters, and, scientists, educators,  
the U.S. Supreme Court justices—even  
bankers. Interestingly, they considered  
members of Congress and executives of  
the federal government less reliable  
than reporters. What a sad state. People  
wouldn't see confidence in the press and  
wouldn't turn their backs on the folk  
who run the country. Instead, they place  
their faith in the garages who brought  
an adjustable marriage rate.

Certainly, the media have much to  
be desired. Journalism is a beautiful  
corporate enterprise, and there are times  
when the newspaper or television sta-  
tion may seem too accommodating of  
the business community—too intent on  
telling us what a swell Christmas  
celebration we had. Journalists are  
editorial tend to be white and middle  
class, and those demographics might  
give you reasons if you're black and  
living on the wrong side of town. Some  
practitioners are lazy, self-aggrandizing,  
baldly belated and were on the  
ground for five tickets to the playoffs.  
And there are reporters who take too  
much for granted, or who are easily  
misled, or who have trouble asking  
questions that may prompt surprises  
to reach for the melting pot.

Journalists are not the faultless  
that inspired our leaders to keep reporters  
out of Grenada. Nor does it mean that  
the public is appreciated because  
the press at times may be too timid, or fail  
to the power structure, or unwilling to  
take the risk of a plain choice. The  
press is to be feared. The worry was, and is,  
reporters will operate in equity and  
get the bad news into print. Govern-  
ment doesn't want that. Often, readers  
don't either.

Ferocious when children are taught  
even in the serious, they are given the  
idea that our destiny is assured and  
that so one need mention of something  
serious. Along the line, we may  
have come to think it wise to leave well  
enough alone—to cancel our subscrip-  
tions, turn out the lights and pretend  
there is conflict even in affliction.

*Fred Bruning is a writer with Monday  
in New York.*

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# The political shape of 1984

By Mary Janigan

Whatever else 1984 may hold for Canada, one can sense certain one again to play a commanding role in determining the course of political events—and to do so in his characteristically pragmatic and unpredictable way. Last week, as politicians and political observers tried to gauge the shape of the year ahead, it seemed that the man in question—Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau—was, in one important respect, stubbornly out of step with political opinion and realistic. While his fellow Liberals watched in gloomy fascination, Trudeau arrived back in Ottawa from Florida and resumed work on his quest for global peace, seemingly oblivious to the fact that Brian Mulroney's confident Conservative bid, on New Year's Day, kicked their well-oiled election machinery into a campaign footing.

If Trudeau's agenda remained as unresponsive as ever, at least he was back on the office last week, while Mulroney and NDP leader Ed Broadbent continued to soak up the sun in Florida. But, while Trudeau concentrated on securing an invitation to carry his peace proposals to Moscow, Liberals warned that the party's electoral machinery would remain paralyzed still be announced whether he planned to step down or lead the party out of the polls once again. "Everyone is building their breath, waiting for the fit to move," said a senior cabinet minister last week.

But he has always worked to his own timetable. He has to make a judgment what is more important—the party or the peace initiative?

To a large extent, that question could determine the year's political timetable, even beyond the federal level, since provincial governments are unlikely to give the polls until the federal election is held. And that could be delayed—though it would be politically risky for Trudeau's Liberals to do so—until 1985.

In Ottawa political tradition speculated that Trudeau might have retirement in mind because he did not want



Trudeau out of step with supporters and mood

pointed three new Liberal senators before Christmas—and the posts of Air Canada chairman and lieutenant-governor of Quebec were still unfilled.

On the other hand, for a man who might be thinking of stepping down, Trudeau faced a busy international calendar. This week he was scheduled to discuss his peace initiative with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar in New York. Next week Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang—a Trudeau peace plan supporter—was due to arrive in Canada for a three-day visit. As well, Liberal tradition says that Trudeau is unlikely to jeopardize his standing overseas by announcing his retirement before meeting the ailing Soviet leader, Yuri Andropov.

For all that, Trudeau was bound to make up his mind sometime. The Liberal party executive meets at the end of January. As a sign of the changing times, the party's legal affairs committee has concluded that the executive itself probably has the technical power to call a leadership convention—though such an action would be out of step with party tradition. Although it is highly unlikely that the executive would ever move to oust Trudeau, a party decision warns that Trudeau must decide his future before the spring or "the shouting and screaming and stamping feet will start," and it will take some period of preparation to call a convention. If Trudeau does leave sooner rather than later, the party's leadership convention will probably be held before Pope John Paul II arrives for his 30-day visit in late September, to avoid any suggestion of politicking around the papist.

While the Liberals wrestled with their uncertainties, the Tories were at a smooch campaign footing. Last week campaign chairman Norman Macdonald of many party functions, such as party planning and publicity, while a party committee examined draft policy papers from Tory senate members. A Mulroney aide promoted some "dang-dang battles" when nomination meet-

ings to select Conservative candidates began Feb. 1. In the meantime, politicians are stalling on whether rights to the territory where Mulroney, a Quebecer who currently holds a Nova Scotia seat, will run in the next election.

Mulroney's Tories were buoyed by a private Gallup poll conducted last month for the party among 1,000 Ontario residents. The poll showed that 55 per cent favored the Tories, while 30 per cent backed the Liberals and 14 per cent supported the NDP. When asked the reasons for their choice, 29 per cent of the respondents said that it is "Time for a change" in the matter of personalities, one per cent criticized Mulroney, 21 per cent did not like Broadbent and felt 41.9 per cent indicated an aversion to Peter Trudeau.

While the Tories rejoiced, the New Democrats were planning survival exercises, since party strategists are aware that the party could lose as many as 25 of its 31 seats in an election. Next month the party will unveil an ambitious campaign built around advertising and door-to-door canvassing, aimed at convincing voters that "the party of consensus" has a valuable role to play in Canada's political life. "The Canadian people do not want to be led without the NDP," argued federal secretary Gerald Caplan. "They would be very disturbed if they lost the NDP as the spokes consensus, as the defender of ordinary people." But the party has

been a valuable role to play in Canada's political life. "The Canadian people do not want to be led without the NDP," argued federal secretary Gerald Caplan. "They would be very disturbed if they lost the NDP as the spokes consensus, as the defender of ordinary people." But the party has lost its 1983 leadership convention to the Liberals, and both the Tories and Liberals also oppose a case bill for your tax in Medicare. That means the party must quickly find new issues.

In contrast to the large question marks hanging over the federal scene, provincial elections are likely to be somewhat more predictable in 1984. While Quebec's Parti Québécois and Manitoba's NDP governments are

in deep trouble with their electors, a clutch of Conservative administrations—including four Tory governments in the Atlantic provinces—elected into the new year in good standing. In Newfoundland, a following Premier Brian Peckford appeared to have an iron hold on power. The disgruntled provincial Liberals were trying to convince faber-

cast was favored by only 31 per cent of respondents in the poll, while the Opposition Liberals, under former premier Robert Bourassa, were riding high at 67 per cent. Although Lévesque is still in control politically and an election is not due until the spring of 1986, his future looked uncertain. In Ontario the Tories and Davis seemed the stronger as the party entered its fifth decade of uninterrupted power.

In the West only Manitoba's new Premier Howard Pawley is in trouble. Terry Patterson Grant Devine of Saskatchewan was and Peter Lougheed of Alberta have a solid hold on power. Manitoba's 1985 election said the party could lose half of its 31 seats in an election, although Pawley can wait until 1986 to face the voters. Pawley's government has buckled such issues as French language rights, an abortion controversy and lottery reform. With a debt of \$258 million, the NDP hopes to end controversy in 1984 and keep a three-per-cent limit on growth in public spending.

Although Alberta's Lougheed faces little serious political opposition, the premier's spending habits have caused increasing scrutiny by financially pressed Albertans. The province reported an \$845-million deficit in 1983 and there were fears that a sales or gasoline tax might be introduced to remedy that. Despite the province's financial difficulties—due mainly to declining oil and gas revenues—the government recently spent \$2 million on toilet facilities for a new provincial recreational development.

After last year's stormy, 31-day public sector strike, British Columbia's Social Credit Premier Bill Bennett headed into 1984 planning to play the role of a moderate who has given his constituents a fair hearing. Centrist Liberal Bill Vander Zanden and Independent Conservative legislation were expected to be mowed down and re-introduced. The emphasis in British Columbia will be on conciliation, not restraint. And the Opposition NDP will likely be distracted by a looming leadership convention to replace leader Dave Barrett.

If 1984 holds one prospect of relative tranquility at the provincial level, the federal arena promises emotion and controversy. Last week's Gallup poll reported that support for Mulroney's Conservatives had slipped three points to 53 per cent, with the Liberals at 30. But the spread left no doubt about one aspect of the federal mood—Canadians want a change.

With Jane Oliver in Vancouver, Gordon Leach in Calgary, Cole Rife in Regina, Andrew Whitford in Winnipeg, Ann Palmer in Toronto, Andrew Wilson in St. Montreal, David Palmer in Fredericton, Kennedy Wells in Charlottetown and Sherry Woodworth in St. John's.



Mulroney: well-oiled machinery in motion

men's union leader Richard Chacko to run in their October leadership convention. But, it says even, an election is not due until 1987.

In New Brunswick, Terry Richard Hatfield, the dean of Canadian premiers, this year will face Ray Frenette, the fifth provincial Liberal leader to op-

Lougheed, under scrutiny



pose him in the premier's 34 years in office. But, along with James Lee in Prince Edward Island, William Dumas in Ontario and John Bachman in New Brunswick, Hatfield seemed securely enmeshed.

In Central Canada the contest was stark between the prospects of Quebec Premier René Lévesque on the one hand and Ontario Premier William Davis on the other. In Quebec the ruling Parti Québécois

# "Gulf Canada offers six suggestions to help get Canada going again."

John Stoik  
President and Chief Executive Officer,  
Gulf Canada Limited

Canada seems to be emerging slowly from the worst recession since the Great Depression. Some of our recent economic woes were part of a world-wide pattern. Many were self-inflicted, or at least worsened by economic policies we chose to pursue. These policies were all too often the product of confrontation instead of consultation among the key groups — government, labour and business.

Now, while the memories of the human suffering and financial hardship are still fresh in our minds, let us apply the lessons we have learned.

Hopefully business, government and labour are going to be able to agree on the components of a program that will keep economic recovery moving and, equally important, help keep us from getting into trouble again.



John Stoik

The Macdonald Royal Commission on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada is in the process of developing a long-range comprehensive economic development policy for Canada. But the implementation of policies deriving from the Commission report is several years away.

At Gulf Canada, we believe that government, labour and business can agree now on components for an immediate post-recessionary economic renewal program. Here are six suggestions.

## 1. Recognize that Canada is a trading nation.

We are a trading nation in a world that is becoming increasingly competitive. Almost 80 percent of our Gross National Product is generated by exports to other nations.

We are also becoming increasingly interdependent with many other countries, largely because we have adopted the policy of reduced export tariffs under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

With greater openness comes increased competition and industrial dislocation. During a time of economic recession this has made protectionism look more appealing. But when you build walls to protect yourself against aggressive competitors, you can end up living in a self-made prison. In this sort of international environment it is critical that Canada improve its trade and investment relations.

## 2. Encourage productivity growth.

More liberal trade arrangements mean greater competition and hence improvements in efficiency. Yet from 1971 to 1981, Canadian productivity gains were at the bottom of a list of 21 nations, and a performance for a trading nation.

Clearly the productivity problem is more complex than simply admonishing Canadians to work harder.

It takes a well-trained labour force combined with sound management and modern production facilities to create a strong productivity per-

formance, to produce goods that are consistent with Canada's relative advantages and with the competitive markets we face.

The way in which the factors of production are brought together depends on the mix and priorities given to major policy initiatives including international trade, competition, labour, energy, financial and other policies, as well as a clear articulation of the size and role of the Government sector in economic affairs.

## 3. Encourage capital growth.

We need to encourage savings and investment. We also need to encourage foreign as well as domestic capital.

In recent years, investment from other countries has been discouraged by the constraints and unpredictable nature of our Foreign Investment Review Agency. At least that is how it is seen by many foreign investors.

To fully support a thriving economy and ensure its steady growth, Canada will need investment help from other countries. And it is vital that foreign investors be reassured that we need and welcome their money



Workers in the Beaufort Sea are found culture for rest and recreation after two weeks of work on the drill rig. It is hard work — but it is worth it, and it pays well. Many thousands more jobs can be created if Gulf Canada and other members of the petroleum industry are given the right tax incentives and other financial terms to invest in exploration. And when we find oil, everybody benefits.

## 4. Build on our strength in resources — particularly energy.

Canada has a great wealth of natural resources — especially in "the energy segment."

And the oil and gas industry, within the energy segment, has a massive resource base. What is more, there are markets in Canada for domestic production and nearby export markets should our discoveries exceed our needs.

In 1980, the industry was poised to make some of these energy dreams come true for Canada. In doing so, we would have been able to significantly lessen the impact of the economic recession upon Canada. However the industry's development plans were undermined by the National Energy Program.

To quote from a study published by the non-partisan C.D. Howe Institute:

"The NEP was introduced to Canadians as a solution to the nation's energy problems. It promised to unite Canadians and to make them prosper in its first two years of existence. The NEP has proven to be a major disappointment. New energy challenges are emerging that are quite different from those the NEP was designed to

deal with... A reassessment of Canada's energy objectives is already overdue."

What can we do now to turn the petroleum industry around?

Gulf Canada's suggestions are detailed in another message of this series.

But to begin with, we must look beyond the current levels in world oil price and world oil supply and demand — look ahead to 1990 and to the year 2000.

Crude oil and natural gas will still be a vital percentage of the world's energy supply. There will be a need for Canadian oil and natural gas.

We have the resources to develop, the commitment to develop them must be made today.

## 5. Recognize and utilize the strengths of the private sector.

The Federal Government says that it now recognizes and intends to use the strengths of the private sector.

The words are more controversial these days. Yet the government continues to change the rules in the middle of the game, particularly in matters concerning the oil and gas industry.

This further compounds the atmosphere of uncertainty in which the industry has had to operate since the introduction of the National Energy Program in 1980.

## 6. Restrain and control government sector growth.

The Federal Government's budget deficit widened to \$24.34-billion in the 1983 fiscal year ended March 31 from \$13.61-billion in the previous year, with the deficit for the current fiscal year now being estimated at \$31.2-billion. The need for restraint and control is self-evident.

## The need for consultation

We have noted earlier that many of the policies that contributed to our recent economic woes were the product of confrontation instead of consultation.

To maintain our current economic recovery — and to plan tactically and constructively for a world beyond economic recovery — we must foster greater co-operation among business, government and labour.

To that end, Gulf Canada has proposed new approaches to three-way consultation and recently we have seen some encouraging initiatives including formation of the National Productivity Council and the intention of the government to introduce some permanent mechanisms for consultation as expressed in the latest Speech from the Throne. Without such genuine consultation, we may be doomed to go on spinning our wheels, missing opportunities and — at worst — reliving the experience of the last two years.

If you would like copies of a recent speech on this subject by John Stoik, President, Gulf Canada Limited, write to:

Bob Fomer  
Director — Public Affairs,  
Dept. 325N  
Gulf Canada Limited,  
130 Adelaide Street W.  
Toronto, Ontario M5H 3B6



GULF CANADA LIMITED





Flooded and ruptured sections of the Trans-Canada Highway near Hope, B.C.; thousands of residents sought higher ground

## The days that the rain came

There are few things as familiar as the sight of British Columbians huddled under umbrellas against the unrelenting January rainfall. But last week, three days of torrential rains forced thousands of residents of the southern area of the province to seek higher ground as floods washed out bridges, railway lines and highways—virtually cutting off Vancouver from the rest of Canada. In the two most heavily hit areas, near Hope, up the Fraser River valley from Vancouver, and across the Cascade range in Princeton, survivors fled their homes. Near Coldbrook, 14 people had to be airlifted to safety by helicopter as lakes and rivers in the Fraser Valley overflowed their banks. As the rain tapered off, the damage began and the damage was assessed at least \$5 million.

The heavy rainfall—30.8 cm in Hope and 9.7 cm in Vancouver—was not totally to blame for the destruction. According to Peter Hanning, chief meteorologist at the Pacific Weather Centre in Vancouver, a series of storms going back to a sub-zero cold snap in December contributed to the flooding. With the ground still frozen, last week's rain did not penetrate the soil. That, combined with a sudden increase from warm temperatures, precipitated the large runoff, which turned streams into raging torrents. Said Hanning: "Actually, the rainfall totals were not all that amazing. We've had as much before and

not seen that kind of damage." In fact, meteorologists are still studying a series of worksheets last year to determine why they occurred. Last July the Trans-Canada Highway was closed for two weeks when a garage east of Revelstoke was destroyed. And last February two people were killed when

Alberta Creek, near Loon Bay outside Vancouver, became a torrent and swept away their mobile home. Although last week's damage caught many of its victims by surprise, it was because as usual for Garry Schaefer, an Environment Canada meteorologist. "Why the floods?" he asked. "Why not? Mud slides and downpours are part and parcel of the West Coast climate. We get this every winter."

—JANE O'HARA in Vancouver

Louis Blando checks his mail in Popleton, B.C.; rivers and lakes overflowed



## The trial begins for five in B.C.

Last January, 10 RCMP officers stormed an highway fugitive hideout, a truck about 15 km north of Vancouver on the winding Squamish highway. The Mounties quickly surrounded the truck and arrested its occupants—three men and two women. For police, the arrest marked the end of seven intensive weeks of surveillance by 60 officers. Last week, almost one year later, the trial of the five accused—Juliet Helman, 20, Ann Hansen, 30, Gerald Hannish, 27, Douglas Stewart, 36, and Brent Taylor, 31—began under heavy security in New Westminster. The five are charged with as many as 11 counts, including conspiracy to rob a Bank's guard, break and entry, car theft and possession of stolen weapons.

In his opening address to the jury, prosecutor Kevin Gillett said that he would call more than 190 witnesses in a trial that is expected to last at least three months. In outlining the Crown's case, Gillett said he would show that the accused had spent two months planning to rob a Bank's guard at a Wacko store in a shopping mall near the city. In preparation for the robbery, four of the accused stole two cars on the night of Aug. 13, Gillett said, and another vehicle the next night. Gillett said that the prosecution would provide evidence showing the accused were in possession of stolen walkie-talkies, which were used during the car robberies, and that 12 of the 30 weapons police seized had been stolen. Included in the Crown's evidence were a video camera to intercept police broadcasts and a book called *Get Away Driving Techniques*.

Gillett said four of the accused were under surveillance while they tried the arrival and departure of the Bank's truck and that a surveillance team followed the accused to a remote cottage near Squamish where they later found shell casings and skeletons of human figures, which had apparently been used for target practice.

Although the trial is just beginning for the jury and public, for the police, lawyers and the accused, it is only the latest step in the lengthy legal after. Preliminary proceedings started last September. Since then, Mr. Justice Martin Tio has been determining the admissibility of evidence. With hundreds of court dates still ahead, Tio announced last week that there would be some respite from the trial, the trial would have a one-week break every three weeks. It will be a holiday from justice for everyone but the accused.

—JANE O'HARA in Vancouver

# Why aren't you here?



## This is what we're doing now in New Zealand

It's summer now. The grass on New Zealand farms is still green and lush from the recent spring rains. Daffodils splash their golden yellow across the paddocks. The trees are basking in the full glory of summer's colours. The rivers and lakes sparkle with clean new water. The trout are fat. You can share the great New Zealand outdoors with a unique "farmhouse" holiday. Stay on a New Zealand farm. Share a few days with real New Zealanders. And remember, when you do come your dollar is worth about 25% more. Come and visit. Send the coupon and we'll send you our free Kiwi travel pack. Then send yourself. You'll remember it forever.

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# Axworthy delivers

**C**abinet ministers in Ottawa have always dispensed favors and funds in an effort to make and influence election back home. In Ottawa's current post-election mode, Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy has become an acknowledged master of the art. Last year the ambitious 44-year-old minister directed nearly \$300 million to Manitoba—and most of that to his electoral home base of Winnipeg. The announcements of million-dollar initiatives came in such profusion before Christmas that, in Axworthy's Winnipeg-Patty Garry riding, supporters of the man with the best chance of defeat-

In addition to that, some \$50 million more is added directly to Axworthy's riding for a senior citizens' housing project, a Via Rail base and a vocational training centre, and other funds went to a host of smaller projects across the city and province.

While impressive, Axworthy's performance in directing funds to his home turf is by no means unique. The exploits of External Affairs Minister Allan Rock in Cape Breton are legendary. In the last federal budget, the government provided \$5.6 million to improve 16 small harbors in Nova Scotia. Of those, 13 were in MacKenzie's riding

half a billion dollars for Manitoba to be both politically important and irrelevant. He feels that dissatisfaction with the Liberals runs so deep that all the federal and Axworthy can muster will not improve his party's image. Winnipeggers know, said Sherman, that "the economic status of the province was eroded by Liberals" and now money is being returned "out of a sense of civility and political urgency." Allen Mills, a University of Winnipeg political scientist and longtime observer of Axworthy's career, calls Axworthy a "regional political warrior." Mills wonders what happens to regions of the country as soon as Winnipeg gets to not have a powerful cabinet minister representing them. "It's a bit of a way to make public policy," and Mills responded Ax-



Axworthy (left) is reinforcing his rail facilities at passenger terminals. It's considered a key part of regional development.

ing him, Tory MLA Bud Sherman, wondered if the Liberals were trying to buy the seat. But Axworthy, a confessed "regional chauvinist," considers his largesse merely an exercise in small-scale liberal democracy. "You can use the federal government as a very effective instrument of job creation," said Axworthy frankly.

In 1988 the cabinet's sole elected representative for Western Canada sanctioned funds for an impressive array of Manitoba projects which included \$170 million as part of a joint federal-provincial agreement to improve Manitoba's transportation facilities and upgrade the northern part of Churchill, \$60 million for Air Canada's new mainline computer center, which is currently under construction in Winnipeg and which will employ 850 people

of Cape Breton Highlands-Canso, Montreal, which contains some two dozen Liberal ridings, also did well, reaping \$17 million worth of research centers and public works.

The recipients usually are not inclined to ask questions. Manitoba's NDP government, for one, enthusiastically welcomed the infusion of capital. Bud Garth, premier, goes as far as Premier Howard Pawley. The more, the merrier—as long as the projects make sense for Manitoba's economy. "But the province, which actively co-operated with Axworthy's office, also takes credit for many of the victories. As sales of a have-not province, "We're not going to question the motivation," added Ormer.

The Conservatives' Bud Sherman, on the other hand, considers Axworthy's

worth. "That is democracy. In a country as large and difficult as ours, you have to use the presence of people to make things happen."

Axworthy's own actions seem varied. His actions obviously help to bolster the Liberal party's ongoing presence in Western Canada. They also reflect the minister's long-term commitment to the revitalization of Winnipeg's downtown. His headline-grabbing projects are obviously also intended to have an impact on his own riding, especially since polls last year gave the 65-year-old Sherman a slight edge over the high-profile minister. Axworthy, however, is not worried. "Sherman is a nice man," he observed, "but he can't deliver the goods to the people that I can."

—ANDREW NICKERSON  
in Winnipeg

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Nigerian marketplace, Buhari (below) trying the herculean task of cleaning up corruption and reviving economic decline

## WORLD

# A general's plans for Nigeria

By Robert Miller

**T**he leader of Nigeria's smoothly executed New Year's Eve revolution sounded more like a management consultant than a military dictator who had just seized power in Africa's wealthiest and most populous nation. But there was an unmistakable Muja-Gun Mohammed Buhari's message: the army cannot be a mere policeman and would stay in power until it had purged the country of deep-seated corruption and restored its flagging economy.

Buhari, a 41-year-old career soldier and a former oil minister in a previous military government, moved deftly last week to consolidate his grip on the country. He established a 15-member supreme military council in the splendid capital of Lagos and imprisoned most members of the former government, including President Shugu Shagari, 58. Said Buhari, summing up his junta's approach to rule: "You are innocent until proven guilty, but our technique may prove a bit more sophisticated."

The order of Nigeria's democratically elected but corrupt and debt-ridden government met virtually no resistance in fact, it seemed to come as a relief in a country where some mid-level servants had not been paid in more than a year and

where prices climbed steadily while also vast oil revenues shrank. Buhari ordered officers from the 187,000-strong military to take over the administration of Nigeria's 19 states. He also sought favor among the general population, estimated at 100 million, by de-



eriving a 50-percent cut in consumer prices. At the same time, to allay international concerns, he declared that Nigeria would remain a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). He also announced that he will continue the negotiations Shagari had begun with the International Monetary Fund for a desperately needed \$2.5-billion loan. Although, Nigeria owes roughly \$14.2 billion, \$5 billion of which must be reamortized shortly. Significantly, the new regime made a scheduled \$80-million loan repayment last week, a gesture interpreted by some observers as a sign that Buhari's administration would be responsible and humane.

Buhari's coup, the fifth since Nigeria was independent from Britain in 1960, ended four years of parliamentary democracy. Barely four months earlier, Shagari—a reformer and poet who was first elected in 1979, when the military returned to barracks after 13 years in power—had won a landslide victory in a general election. He called his August triumph "a victory for Nigeria, a victory for democracy." The election was widely hailed as evidence that multiparty politics could work as a continent where dictators and one-party states are the norm.

Initially, Shagari was widely seen in the West as a leader who now proposes to match. Before the coup the president first 38 of his 45 cabinet ministers and created a team of respected economists. A harsh speaker before the August election—Shagari's government initiated almost 450 billion in projects—he promised prudence, if not parsimony, after. But his administration was never able to cope with the consequences of a world oil glut that sent Nigeria's foreign earnings plummeting from almost \$25 billion in 1980 to less than \$10 billion last year.

Two days after the coup Buhari declared, "My one measure of our economic development will be based on such indicators as the availability of the essentials of life at prices within the reach of the lower income group." To that end, he ordered shopkeepers to halve their prices on foodstuffs and household goods. Many balked and kept their businesses closed.

In vowing to eliminate corruption, the new military government undertook to initiate fundamental changes in a country where bribery—known as "dab"—is a way of life. Nigerian officials at virtually every level have long been notorious for their insistence on bribes simply for doing their jobs.

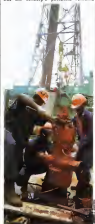
The military's campaign to clean up corruption is not without its civilian supporters. Four of the capital's major independent newspapers welcomed the military takeover. Said the *Daily Punch*: "The coup that ousted the lukewarm, ineffectual, corrupt, bloody-minded and corrupt leadership of President Shugu Shagari has been the greatest thing in the past four years."

The fate of the civilian leader was not immediately known. Shagari was reportedly sent to the military city of Kaduna where the military struck. Buhari later denied published reports that Shagari was brought to the capital in handcuffs, saying only that "he is now, let us say, safe and sound." By midweek, with the restoration of judicial commissions and the reopening of the Lagos airport, there were almost no signs that a coup had taken place. In Lagos shoppers crowded the streets and traffic was as unimpeded and unimpeded as usual. In the countryside and the various state capitals, thousands of civilian officials followed Buhari's instructions and voluntarily reported to military commanders for questioning and possible reassignment.

For his part, Buhari seemed in total command. A Member from the northern part of the country, he is described by diplomats as an astute and hard-working officer. He was trained by the British and as a young lieutenant colonel in 1975 was part of the group of officers that overthrew Gen. Yakubu

Gowon, the man who defeated seven elected Ikhs in a bloody, 20-month civil war ending 1979. From 1975 until the return of civilian rule in 1980, Buhari served as a state governor, as federal commissioner of petroleum and as chairman of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corp. He regularly attended OPEC meetings, where he was regarded as a modern manager.

Nigeria's economy may be crippled, but the country's potential remains



Oil industry crippled but promising

promising. Buhari said last week he would emphasize rehabilitation of the nation's agriculture and petrochemical industries. Once self-sufficient in food, Nigeria now imports 70 per cent of what it eats. Much of the nation's modern industrial plant has languished since the collapse of oil prices, and the country has been traditionally short of good managers and productive workers. Now Buhari, a manager and a hard worker, has named his cabinet. His next will be to ensure that Nigeria's march with him. *Will Lagas, Shugu in Abidjan, Carol Green in Ottawa, William Lashley in Washington, Joe Matthews in Vienna and Don Turner in Harare.*

## SOUTH AFRICA

# Warnings for the neighbors

**O**n the surface the two events seemed unrelated. First, South Africa sent Foreign Minister Bheke (P.W.) Botha on a surprise Dec. 21 diplomatic visit to Swaziland. Then, just weeks later, an army of 10,000 South African soldiers embarked on their largest operation on Angolan territory in two years. But the two seemingly disparate actions had a common motive to weaken the guerrilla movements that threaten Pretoria's hold on Namibia and that seek the overthrow of apartheid while South Africa.

To that end, Pretoria is pursuing a two-track regional strategy. Diplomatic sources said that Botha's visit to Swaziland, where he met Mozambique's Economic Affairs Minister Jacinto Viljoen, was part of the soft approach. Botha offered to reduce South Africa's support for anti-Mozambique guerrillas. The Angolan operation had a different objective. Pretoria sent waves of Mirage jets to postcard areas 200 km inside the border, on an attempt to destroy bases of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas, who are fighting for the independence of Namibia.

Pretoria's double-edged approach has already achieved some success. The Mozambique talks followed four years of crippling South African raids on the former Portuguese colony. Those attacks, along with Pretoria's support for the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO), have weakened the nation's problems. The West holds have prevented aid from reaching people suffering from the effects of a drought that has killed at least 40,000 people. Then, after a cut in Soviet aid, desperate Pretoria stepped in. Botha's approach, Pretoria attacked indirectly, as an attempt to end years of animosity.

Pretoria's current attack on Angola followed closely on that country's rejection of a December South Africa proposal for a formal engagement in the Namibian war. The plan would have placed restrictions on the movements of SWAPO guerrillas inside Angolan territory. Still, despite Pretoria's aggressive action abroad, it has been unable to break the tide of guerrilla violence posed by its own borders. In the past six months anti-apartheid African National Congress guerrillas have exploded 24 bombs in South African cities. South Africa's action in Angola may well increase that figure.

—ALLISTER STRAIN in Johannesburg



French peacekeeping troops in Beirut, uncharacteristically suspicious camera

LEBANON

## Closing in on a ceasefire

The glow of hope was faint but brightening. Even as the artillery barrage continued in Beirut and Israel launched a devastating air raid in the Bekaa Valley, Lebanon took a first, tentative step toward establishing a lasting ceasefire last week. After two weeks of continuous negotiations, the Lebanese government announced that the country's warring factions had agreed in principle on a plan to disengage their forces. But Druse Muslim militia leader Walid Jumblatt, who at week's end had signed on a number of technical details, warned that it was at best a blueprint for long-term political peace in Lebanon. Said Jumblatt, "It will represent a military de-escalation but not a settlement."

The prospect of an imminent ceasefire was particularly heartening for the multinational peacekeeping force in Beirut. Two of the four nations in the group recently announced that they will drastically cut their forces in the Lebanese capital because of increasing civilian and political tensions. And in the U.S. State last week congressional pressure mounted for the Reagan administration to redeploy or even bring home the 1,800 marines stationed in Beirut—a devastating prospect for Lebanese President Amn Gemayel.

The major obstacle to Gemayel's second bid to have the refusal of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to take part. But Gemayel's major compromise—a concession to Syrian-backed Druze and Shi'ite militias that allows them to re-

main on territory they seized last September from the Lebanese Army and Christian Phalangist militiamen—offered Assad's stubborn stand. Still, Jumblatt withheld formal approval because the agreement would permit the Lebanese Army to move into parts of the Chouf Mountains, the Druze ancestral home. To appease Jumblatt and Muslim leaders, Gemayel offered negotiations on greater political and economic power in return for a Lebanese Army takeover of the coastal plain north and south of Beirut. To avoid renewed outbreaks of fighting, the plan also set proposals for 700-m. buffer zones between rival contingents, with an 800-member peacekeeping buffer force between the two.

Despite the progress, one Lebanese official insisted that the multinational force must not interpret the agreement

Gemayel's major compromise



And a vocal contingent in Congress now firmly opposes the Marine presence anywhere in Lebanon. Now, U.S. officials hope that a ceasefire will permit the Marines to withdraw from vulnerable positions around Beirut airport to the U.S. Navy flotilla offshore.

The resolve of the multinational force wobbled still further when the French and Italian contingents said that they will redeploy or reduce troops currently in Beirut. First, Italy, with the largest contingent (2,200 soldiers) declared that it will cut the number to 1,100. Then, France announced that it will redeploy 600 soldiers from its 1,200-man peace-keeping unit in Beirut to the United Nations Truce Force in southern Lebanon. French officials believe that their contingent's high profile in the capital has made it the focus of increasing attacks, which have already claimed the lives of 62 troops. The shift underscores the French and British conviction that UN forces should replace the multinational force in Beirut.

Despite the prospect of a ceasefire, tensions in southern Lebanon rose sharply last week. During an hour-long early morning attack, 16 Israeli Kfir fighter jets strafed and bombed the city of Tybrik, headquarters of the Islamic Amal militia. Angered by escalating attacks on its troops in southern Lebanon, Israeli officials ordered the evacuation of 180 people and wounded more than 400. The Israeli government declared that it will continue to attack "terrorist groups." But at the same time, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin met with cabinet members to discuss methods of reducing the Israeli presence in Lebanon. Rabin's goal was twofold: to lessen casualties and to reduce an expensive operation that is crippling Israel's faltering economy.

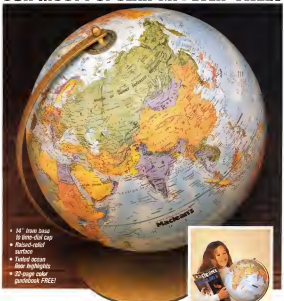
Still, any lasting solution to the Lebanese conflict depends on a settlement of the larger Middle East dispute. To that end, there was also a hint of optimism. King Hussein of Jordan recalled the nation's parliament after a 10-year suspension. The decision was part of the king's strategy of becoming the pre-

mier voice for Palestinians living on the occupied West Bank. Half the parliamentary deputies come from the occupied zone.

Overall, the onset of negotiations in the Middle East seemed uncharacteristically auspicious. But politics in the region have a proven capacity of changing directions without warning.

—JOHN WILKINSON in Toronto, with Michael Posner in Washington

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## The independent sultanate



Brunei's Sultan Muza and one of his two wives; oil, gas and law roads

The independence day ceremonies were as spectacular as the new nation's massive wealth. While 50,000 residents of the tiny but rich nation of Brunei watched, Sultan Sir Muza bin Daud declared Brunei's independence from Britain after 96 years of colonial rule. It was the largest crowd ever assembled in the tiny nation, which is about the size of Prince Edward Island. Up-country residents, unable to attend the solemn proceedings in the usually sleepy capital of Bandar Seri Begawan, stayed at home in their air-conditioned lounges watching the festivities on television sets provided free by the Brunei government. Indeed, all revenues totaling \$1 billion a year have provided the 250,000 Bruneians, who occupy a corner of Borneo, with an enviable way of life that seems unlikely to change after independence. The nation has been so content with both its wealth and its ties to Britain that its leaders asked London in 1979 if they could delay independence for another 20 years.

The new nation is a unique amalgam of Islamic monarchy and one of the world's most generous social welfare systems. Sultan Muza announced that he has renounced, which has only Brunei for 400 years, would demonstrate the first step. As with Muza, the saved the most ancient positions—prime minister, finance minister and interior minister—for

himself. But after decades of prosperity, Bruneians seem neither surprised nor dumfounded by the absence of democracy. Brunei's per capita income of \$22,000 is the highest in Asia. Indeed, the Sultan's policy of sharing the wealth with his subjects has given credence to Brunei's official title of "Abode of Peace."

Still, the country's wealth has distorted its economic and social life. As many as 40 per cent of all working Bruneians are employed by the limited mid service Government employees enjoy an enviable array of perquisites, including virtually interest-free loans for purchasing cars and homes. As a result, the nation has to import 30 per cent of its work force. At the same time, the government has built profitable public housing for Bruneians, including an extraordinary air-conditioned village on islets over the Brunei River in the

scarcely grand mosque, the mosque makes the 140-foot climb to the top of the massive five-story minaret in the comfort of a modern elevator.

Meanwhile, the 57-year-old Muza, who attended Britain's Sandhurst military academy, lives in luxury which rivals that of the emirs of the Persian Gulf. He has built a sprawling 1,800-room palace for himself, his two wives and his children. Bruneians dismiss the palace's staggering \$200-million cost as "expensive wasteful money" instead, in a nation whose foreign currency reserves of \$14 billion are greater than Canada's. Few outsiders seem to be agitated by the nation's extravagance.

But Brunei's history has made the royal family odious. A 1962 coup attempt by members of the leftist Brunei People's Party occurred after Muza's father annulled the results of the nation's first and only election. The royal family regained power only after enlisting the help of British Gurkha troops stationed in Singapore.

Muza appears to be preoccupied with defense. He spends much of his time on defense—nearly 30 per cent of the government budget. The 3,400-man Royal Brunei Malay Regiment bristles with modern weaponry, including British armor cars and rocket missiles. Still, the royal family views the 700-man British Gurkha battalion as the key to its security. But arguments about their continuing presence have stalled because of Muza's insistence on ensuring complete authority over the unit. British refusal to relinquish control, despite the fact that the largest contingent of British troops is now stationed in Brunei's domestic armed forces.

Most observers discount the possibility of unrest in the immediate future, but problems may eventually arise. The government's failure to diversify its economy leaves it with the largest external obligation of its oil wealth. As well, Brunei's Chinese population, which controls most of the country's retail business, has become openly hostile to the nation's independence. At the same time, neighboring Malaysia and Indonesia might use any unrest in Brunei as an excuse to invade. To fend off any possible conflict with its neighbors, Brunei will shortly join the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Meanwhile, Bruneians can count on continuing prosperity in one of the world's most favored nations.

—JAMES WINTERMAN in Toronto, with Paul Conroy, Judge in Bangkok

## TUNISIA

### Rioting over the daily bread

As an exercise in political expediency, the reform was associated with impossible times. Last week, just five days after he instituted food price increases of 115 per cent, Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba scrapped the entire program. The 80-year-old president made his sudden policy reversal after a series of potent riots killed at least 90 people in the North African nation of 6.6 million. The price increases were an attempt by the Bourguiba government to end 50 years of expensive food price subsidies. But they led to overnight rises in the price of bread, for one, from eight cents to 18 cents a loaf. Then consumers staged street battles with troops, and the president declared a state of emergency. Later, when Bourguiba abandoned the reforms, the nation's mood changed instantly to euphoria, with crowds calling out the president's name and loudly praising him.

As the country returned to normal, some Tunisians warned that the agricultural subsidies were needed to continue a growing economic crisis. The subsidies have led to conspicuous waste—Tunisians regularly litter public areas with partially eaten loaves of bread. They are also extremely costly. And Bourguiba had just ordered France to provide Tunisia with a new budget that will accommodate the renewed price supports. But with inflation running above 25 per cent, a swelling trade deficit of 28 million dinars (\$1.2 billion) and an unemployment rate of more than 20 per cent, Bourguiba's aides have little room to maneuver. At the same time, Tunisia suffers from economic disparities among its regions. The ruling first broke out in 1959 in the impoverished southwest area known as the desert. There, unemployment and drought conditions have caused resentment toward central areas which have enjoyed much of the benefits of the country's steady economic growth.

Still, Bourguiba has managed to avoid alienating the politically influential middle class. And his ability to read the nation's mood has served him well—he has held office continuously since the country won its independence from France in 1956. He recently announced that he hopes to stay in power for at least another decade. But without tough measures to maintain the nation's economic health, Bourguiba may have to deal with increasing social unrest in his last years in office. □



Wreckage of bridge destroyed by fire: the army is incapable of response

## EL SALVADOR

### Twin setbacks for the army

The attacks were swift, precise and devastating in their cost. And last week Salvadoran officials acknowledged that the guerrilla forces had dealt the armed forces two of their fiercest setbacks in four years of conflict with the rebels. In the first incident, the leftist guerrillas overran a military post in the northern province of Choluteca on Dec. 28, killing 200 soldiers. Then, on New Year's Day, the rebels struck again, bombing a strategic suspension bridge. The army's inability to repel the attacks has reinforced doubts about its capacity to fight a guerrilla war. "The army cannot continue at this level of performance," said an diplomat in San Salvador. "If it does not improve, it will lose the war."

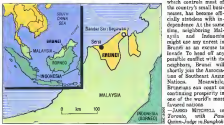
Indeed, the Salvadoran military is losing confidence in itself, and morale is sinking rapidly. In both attacks, according to observers, many of the defending troops fled under fire. At the same time, Washington is pressing the Salvadoran government to prove security forces of officers involved with right-wing death squads. The death squads, which last year murdered an estimated 6,000 people, are a continuing embarrassment to the U.S. administration in its attempts to win military aid for El Salvador.

In response, Vice President George Bush said last month following a tense message that the United States will increase its aid commitments. Bush said Salvadoran leaders, only if they try to eliminate the gangs. The Salvadoran reacted quickly. Last week the government re-assigned two military officers to diplo-

matic postings abroad. The officers' names were omitted in a White House list of suspected right-wing terrorists. The transfers outraged the tightly knit officer corps and caused fury among the death squads themselves. One group, the Anti-Communist Army, issued a communique accusing the United States of interfering in El Salvador's internal affairs. "We are not going to allow the groups to make decisions regarding the changes of military command," the statement said.

The confusion within the armed forces was in sharp contrast to the left-wing rebel guerrillas' threat. National Liberation Movement (FMLN), which orchestrated the holiday attacks, its growing strategic capabilities have left many U.S. policymakers convinced that the leftists now hold some control of most of the country. For their part, the guerrillas agree with that assessment. "The army is incapable of response," said FMLN commander Felipe Guevara, who led the Choluteca attack. "They had no command, no cohesion or control."

The guerrillas will likely press the White House to ask Congress to increase direct aid from \$68 million to \$100 million for the current fiscal year, warning that El Salvador may be on the brink of a leftist takeover. But without a more decisive move to defeat the death squads—an action that seems unlikely amid growing hostility from the officer corps—the fight for additional funds will be as difficult as the army's struggles in the jungles of El Salvador. —WILLIAM DUNN in Mexico City





Jackson of the White House flanked by Goodman (in uniform), Reagan and Vice-President George Bush (right); Jackson speaks

## COVER

# Jackson steals the show

By Michael Posner

He has never held elective office, nor ever negotiated an international treaty. His voting base—black Americans—is a small racial minority, concentrated in a handful of states. Even among blacks he remains an unlikely figure—part aviator, part demagogue, strong on conception, weak on execution. And yet, as the year draws a curtain on the 1994 presidential campaign, one that seems indisputable, Rev. Jesse Louis Jackson—(the ultimate son of a South Carolina sharecropper)—stands, improbably, as the most riveting Democratic politician on the electoral landscape.

Although Jackson's prospects of becoming the Democratic nominee for president are slim, he could acquire enough raw political power to deter-

mine the makeup of the party's ticket. Conferring his newfound status, Jackson last week returned from his dramatic Damascus pilgrimage to a hero's homecoming, complete with a presidential tribune in the White House Rose Garden. His personal appeal to Syrian President Hafez al-Assad had achieved what formal U.S. diplomacy could not: the release of captive navy fleet Lt. Robert G. Goodman Jr., snuff down by Syrian powers on Dec. 4. Under Washington's unassisted hand, alone, Khalid Bugeja praised Jackson's "personal vision of mercy," adding, "He has earned our gratitude and our admiration." In fact, the civil rights leader and former protégé of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has earned much more. With one virtuous act of diplomacy, Jackson has given his presidential candidacy instant respect and credibility. Henceforth, the media, the country

and his seven Democratic challengers must take him more seriously.

Exactly how Jackson will parlay his triumph abroad into advantage at home is not yet clear. But if fund-raising efforts and volunteer recruitment bear any relationship to media exposure, the Syrian odyssey should pay some handsome dividends. For the better part of a week, Jackson dominated television news coverage and the front pages of newspapers. Not all the commentary was favorable. Many observers had strong reservations about Jackson's mission. Yet there were no doubts about the achievement itself, and Republicans and Democrats alike were compelled to recognize it. Had former vice-president Walter Mondale, whose own "major foreign policy statement" was upstaged by Jackson's bariet, "deserve enormous public approval. He conducted his effort as a private citizen with sensitiv-



Meeting with Syria's President Assad in Damascus: a clever public relations campaign

ty." The other Democratic presidential contenders were no less cautious.

But though the din of celebration last week there were a number of important questions about the effects of his mission on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and the 1994 election and about the character of Jesse Jackson himself. Indeed, many Americans believed that Goodman's release had less to do with Jackson's persuasive oratory than it did with Assad's always hot calculation of Syria's national interest.

One of the world's wildest politicians, Assad—some observers suggested—had simply used Jackson to stage a clever public relations coup, embarrass the Reagan administration and promote the success of public support for the deployment of marines in Lebanon.

"Syria chose to release him for the purpose of embarrassing the president of the United States," said Richard Allen, a former national security adviser to Reagan. "He also wanted to cause some mischief in domestic American politics."

**Bargaining:** Without discounting the Syrian manipulation, there is also some evidence that Jackson's arguments did impress the Syrian leader. Reportedly, Assad was the only high-ranking government official to greet Goodman's release. His top aides felt that the navy fleet would be more useful as a bargaining chip whose value would grow as time passed. In his 90-minute private meeting with Assad, Jackson said, "If I can only have one lawyer in Syria, to argue my case, it'll take you." When Syria's leader complained that the Reagan administration's recent treatment of Lebanese President Amin G-

magie—sending him home from a Washington visit empty-handed—Jackson countered: "There isn't so that to me. Don't send me home empty-handed." And when Assad said that the New Year's holiday would make it difficult to converse his advisers, Jackson simply joked, "I know that when you receive messages, people have a way of being available."

The ensuing personal support clearly had some effect. Until Jackson and his entourage arrived in Damascus, Syrian officials had taken a hard line, insisting that Goodman would not be freed until U.S. reconnaissance flights over Lebanon ceased or until the undeclared war ended. Jackson therefore read

Goodman's release as a negotiating gesture by Assad—a sign, possibly, that Damascus wanted to defuse tensions with Washington. Equally significantly, perhaps, U.S. jets estimated overnight the Syrian-controlled Bek's Valley last week without being fired upon.

**Statements:** With 25 Ross Garden television cameras focused on him, Jackson urged the president to respond to those signals, "to broaden the base of American options in the Middle East and to meet President Assad." For his part, Reagan publicly thanked the Syrians, noting that Goodman's release provided "an opportune moment to get all the issues on the table." He also wrote personally to Assad, dispatched Middle East special envoy Donald Rumsfeld to the region with new but unspecified ideas for breaking the Lebanese stalemate, and declared his readiness to meet Assad "if it would advance the cause of peace."

But such a moment could occur only if the two sides were close to an agreement—hardly an apt description of the status quo. The dramatic change in atmosphere—only a few days earlier senior U.S. officials blamed Syria for sponsoring professional terrorism—may be only the Chairman Stephen Brinkley, the former national security adviser in the Jimmy Carter administration. "One should not anticipate a fundamental change in the Syrian position."

Still, there's reason to be optimistic. If the Syrian-U.S. talks may permit a greater willingness to at least begin to talk. But even with Jackson's success—indeed, because of it—

With Jacqueline, his wife of 21 years, asked condition and gifts for self-promotion



the US foreign policy establishment expressed uneasiness about the role of private clause diplomacy. Under the 1799 Logan Act, it is illegal for individuals to conduct intergovernmental negotiations outside official channels. The law has been frequently breached, sometimes with government acquiescence, but there are unspoken rules. "Thank heavens the release was achieved," said Sol Linowitz, special Majanet among under Carter. "But it would be deeply unfortunate if this were regarded as a precedent for future incoherence, because the dangers are considerable."

There were lingering questions too about Jackson's real motives. Many Americans viewed his mission as overtly political, designed to raise his profile among racial minorities—the only constituency in which, because of a renewed voter registration drive, he enjoys a reasonable prospect of success. Conservative columnist George Will labelled Jackson a harrington and said, "Were Goodman not black, it is fair to ask whether [Jackson] would be as interested as he—consciously for his campaign—is." Editorial comment was also harsh. Even while they welcomed the results, leading US newspapers, including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, criticized the man and his methods. *The Times* called the trip "contemptible" and a "stunt," while the *Post* labelled Jackson "machievian" and "irresponsible" and called his achievement "hinky." It was one thing for a presidential candidate to criticize the administration's foreign policy. It was quite another to advance one's candidacy by controversially conducting a new and different policy.

Despite Jackson's defenders dismissed the criticism. Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young said the approach "gives some credibility to the power of creative diplomatic initiatives." Jackson himself, seldom accused of humility, called his trip "a political risk but the right thing to do." He compared it to "the role of leadership. Eisenhower recommended when he went to Korea, Kennedy to Geneva, Nixon to China and Carter to Camp David." To which Senator Fritz Hollings, another Democrat making the presidential nomination, glibbed, "Someone ought to tell Jesse he's not the president yet."

At the same time, the overriding question was what impact Jackson's coup would have on the 1984 political equation. A strong performance in Democratic primaries and caucuses, which begin next month, would clearly give Jackson substantial momentum prior at the party's July leadership



George McGovern (left): McGovern splitting the liberal vote

convention in San Francisco. Indeed, in the wake of last week's success, some Democrats openly speculated about making Jackson, 62, a vice-presidential running mate. That prospect seemed, at first glance, remote. But Jackson could play a decisive role in shaping the party's platform and hence the November verdict.

breaks One potential area for serious conflict is the party's Middle East policy. Both Democratic front-runners, Mondale and Senator John Glenn, are staunch supporters of Israel, and the party has traditionally taken a pro-Israel position on most of the thorny Middle East issues Jackson has raised. Mondale's more "even-handed" approach—code words, in the political lex-

icon against minority and dark-skinned candidates himself. So far, Democratic officials have listened politely, but unenthusiastically, to his complaint. They may be more responsive now. If Jackson's drive to register between two and three million new black voters succeeds, he will emerge as the custodian of black interests (page 30).

That development would force the several Democratic nominees into some hard bargaining—swapping personal commitments to job quotas and minority retaining programs for Jackson's delivery of the black vote in November. Such a deal would reinforce Jackson's strength in black constituencies, granting him what he has long coveted: unchallenged leadership of the black

James and Coretta Scott King, widow of the martyred black leader. Part of the narrative, of course, is political strategy. The conventional wisdom has been that a sagging Jesse Jackson poses a formidable threat to Walter Mondale.

The reasoning is elementary. The winner in US presidential politics is generally the candidate who captures the political centre. To the extent that a powerful Jackson forces Mondale to embrace a more left-leaning platform, he will split liberal votes in the primaries and drive centrist Democrats toward John Glenn and possibly toward Reagan in the subsequent election. In fact, black strategists fear that if the more conservative Glenn captures the nomination, black voters may fail to register

Democratic party irreversibly. In fact, Jackson's material qualities—his relentless, naked ambition and gifts for self-promotion—afford the more traditional black leadership intimates of the late King will never forget how, in the hours after King's assassination in Memphis in 1968, Jesse Jackson held press conferences to describe how he had rushed to King's side and cradled the slain leader's head in his lap. Eyewitnesses recall a different scene. "The only person who cradled Dr. King was [Ralph] Abernathy," said Thomas Williams, who was King's voter registration director. And Abernathy, Jackson's immediate superior in Operation Breadbasket, declared, "I am sure Rev. Jackson would not say to me that



Working the crowds in Washington last August can do without the Democratic party. They expect to win it



Playing basketball physically dominating

noon, for a tilt between the Arabs. Alone among the Democratic candidates, Jackson has endorsed Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization, wears a watch given to him by Libyan leader Muammar Khaddafi, and has accepted a \$10,000 donation from the Libyans for Operation BOB. Jackson's Chicago-based human rights organization, if Jackson works his will with the platform, the party could assume a significant and influential voting bloc—Africanist Jewry.

Previously Jackson will attempt to use his leverage in other ways as well. He has already mounted a challenge to the party's rules for selecting convention delegates, claiming they discrimi-

nationism in the United States. Jackson's critics, blacks and whites alike, believe that his presidential campaign was conceived with one singular purpose—to smother Jesse Jackson as the rightful heir to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. A Chicago columnist, Tarcus Jewett of the *Sun-Times*, who has followed Jackson's career closely, labelled his agenda "the promotion of Jesse Jackson as the king, the emperor, the most important black person of this century." As it is, several prominent blacks have already endorsed Mondale and hold jaundiced views about Jackson's candidacy. Among those opposed: Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, former National Urban League chairman Vernon

aw, exasperated by Glenn's behind policies, may stay away from the polls—effectively handing Reagan re-election by default. For every emotional black gathering chanting "Run, Jesse, Run," there is a group, often smaller and less vocal, murmuring a prayer that Jesse does not run too hard.

Unprecedented. For the moment, Mondale's lead in the polls is so large that many believe the nomination is already locked up. But Jackson remains unpredictable. If he challenges to the party's rules, or if the party rejects his bid to play power broker, Jackson might decide to invest his equity elsewhere, perhaps in an independent candidacy. That decision could split the

he even came near Dr. King after he was shot." Jackson has never fully answered discrepancies in these accounts, saying only, "Peter was with Jesus physically, but Paul accompanied Jesus better than Peter did." Currently, Williams and Abernathy now endorse Jackson's presidential bid, but neither would recognize his claim to sole leadership of American blacks. Elphinstone Abernathy, "I don't know if he could be pastor of my church or be my pastor. But Jesse Jackson is out to be the pastor. He will force Mr. Mondale and Senator Glenn to deal with issues they never dreamed of."

Even Jackson's title of record has a story behind it. Although he has re-

ceived several honorary degrees, Jackson was ordained several years after he dropped out of the Chicago Theological Seminary. Controversy also surrounds Jackson's Operation PUSH—People United to Serve Humanity. There have been repeated charges—so far unproven—of financial mismanagement. One black-owned newspaper in Missouri alleged that PUSH had extorted kickbacks from black businesses benefiting from PUSH-negotiated agreements with white-owned corporations. Jackson sued for libel but abandoned the case when the court ordered him to open PUSH's ledgers. A long-standing "harassing dispute" with federal auditors also has never been resolved. The department of education claims that PUSH spent up to \$21 million in federal grants on unauthorized projects. "If we own any difference, we'll pay," Jackson stated. But he added, "The point is that it is not true."

While Jackson's spectacular journey to Syria also sparked doubts about his ethics. There were reports that the Syrian government paid Jackson's hotel bills in Damascus—about \$40,000—as well as those of his delegation. But Jackson insisted that the Syrians had not, to his knowledge, settled his accounts and, if they had, "they will be reimbursed." He also denied using his own campaign fund to finance the trip. But whether the charge is a genuine payola or fabrication, Jackson remains unapologetic. "I enjoy my role," he says. "I was born to lead."

A master handler of the media, he breezes through interviews receding his weaknesses—failure to organize, detail—but relentlessly promoting his strengths. To the claim that he is opportunistic, Jackson replies, "Not taking advantage of opportunity is a sin. I've been as opportunistic as conspiracy." His strategy, with the rhythmic cadences of black oration, may be his single greatest asset. Building artificial crowds, he can mesmerize a crowd for hours or spontaneously edit his message to fit a reporter's 30-second audio tape. A tall man with an athletic build—he went to college on a football scholarship and still plays aggressive basketball—he physically dominates a room. Last week even the tall, broad-shouldered president found himself looking up to Jackson.

The subject of Jackson's attention grew up in poverty in Greenville, S.C. Born out of wedlock to a high school student, Helen Burns, Jackson was later adopted by her husband, Charles Henry Jackson. But his real father, Noah Louis Robinson, was a married neighbor who occasionally found his son staring at him through the window. Even as a youth, Jackson displayed an instinct for



With fellow Democratic candidate Cranston, a danger of splitting the party

leadership. As home student, he was president of the student body and quarterback of the state's championship high school football squad. Teachers and friends remember him as a boy determined, even desperate, to gain recognition and success. The routine slights of racially segregated Greenville—and the daily slurs against his character—conditioned Jackson to adversity and nurtured his ambitions. Some years ago, his half-brother, Noah Robinson Jr., said "Jesse has all the prerequisites for success. He has intelligence, drive, self-reliance and vulnerability. And

Jesse can be as terrifying as Al Capone."

Drawn to the civil rights movement at the early 1960s, Jackson quickly impressed King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which hired him to work as Operation Breadbasket, an organization set up to pressure businessmen to end discriminatory hiring practices. But Jackson refused to play the role of worshipful disciple. Instead, he argued aggressively for his views, challenging King, Abernethy and others. Later, when he had opened a Breadbasket office in Chicago, Jackson struck a

With King and Abernethy one day before King's assassination: discrepancies



## HOW MUCH DO WE HAVE LEFT?

Each day nearly one and a half million barrels of crude oil and 4 billion cubic feet of natural gas are consumed to heat our homes, fuel our industries, and run our cars, trains and planes. That makes Canada one of the world's



largest per capita consumers of energy. Crude oil and natural gas represent about



60% of our current energy consumption—our supply has fluctuated from 'crisis' to 'glut' at ever increasing costs.

How much do we have left?



PETROLEUM  
RESOURCES  
COMMUNICATION  
FOUNDATION

A special information supplement on Canada's oil and gas industry. Please detach and retain for further reference.



## OUR CHANGING ENERGY SUPPLY

It is impossible to accurately estimate how much oil and gas we have left and how long it will serve our needs. Forecasting supply and consumer demand is a complex process that is based on such variables as technology, price, conservation and politics.

In 1973 when oil prices quadrupled virtually overnight, Canada was one of the few industrialized countries where production was keeping pace with consumption. While no longer self-sufficient in oil, Canada remains well equipped to meet all our future energy requirements.

To understand the extent of Canada's oil and gas potential, a distinction must be made between "resources" and "reserves".

**RESOURCES**—the total amount of crude oil and natural gas known to exist. Estimates of these resources are calculated "guesses".

**RESERVES**—the total amount of oil and gas that can be found and produced at today's cost and sold at today's price. They can be accurately defined.

Most of Canada's oil and gas reserves are found in Western Canada and represent just over one percent of our identified resources. There are vast untapped resources in Northern Canada and offshore along the East Coast—as well as one of the largest deposits in the Athabasca oil sands. These oil sands alone are believed to have the equivalent of some 200 times the known recoverable liquid oil reserves in Canada.

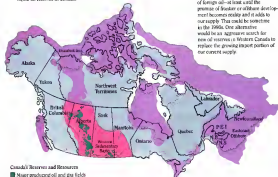


### Canada's Petroleum Resources

- Reserves
- Resources

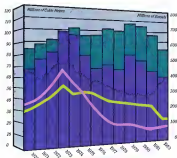
Canada's oil and gas reserves represent just over one percent of our identified resources.

Technology and economics will determine the degree and timing of developments in the oil sands, the northern frontier and east coast oilfield resources. In the meantime, Canada's short-term energy supply will have to rely on the continuing importation of foreign oil—at least until the promise of Western or offshore development becomes reality and it adds to our supply. That could be sometime in the 1990s. One alternative would be an aggressive search for new oil resources in Western Canada to replace the growing import portion of our current supply.



### Canada's Reserves and Resources

- Major producing oil and gas fields
- Known oil and gas reserves
- Potential oil and gas resources areas



### Oil Reserves

- Demand
- Supply
- Imports
- Exports

Canada's daily total of crude oil is on the average 229,000 cubic metres (1.4 million barrels) with 190,000 cubic metres (1.2 million barrels) supplied by domestic sources, primarily in Western Canada. About 36,000 cubic metres (225,000 barrels) are imported daily to make up the difference.

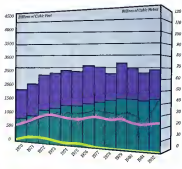
In supplying 60% of our current energy requirements, crude oil reserves have been steadily decreasing since they peaked in 1960. Reserves at the end of 1982 were approximately 1 billion cubic metres (6.4 billion barrels), enough to meet our needs for 10 years assuming we maintained consumption patterns and had no new discoveries.

## THE GAS "BUBBLE"

Natural gas, on the other hand, is plentiful even with an ever-increasing use by Canadians during the past 20 years. About 20% of Canada's total energy needs are now supplied by natural gas.

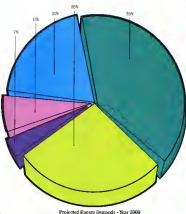
While the demand in 1982 was 120 million cubic metres (1.4 billion cubic feet) per day, the estimates for our total gas resources in the ground are in the order of 2.6 trillion cubic metres (90 billion cubic feet) enough to meet Canadian demand for well over the next 60 years.

Because we produce considerably more natural gas than we consume, Canada exports natural gas to the United States which provides the necessary revenue to maintain a healthy and viable industry.



### Gas Reserves

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## SUMMARY FORECAST— SUPPLY

Attempts to identify long-range energy supply scenarios can be made quickly obsolete because of a change in one or several of the variables that influence the supply side of the oil and gas industry.

A summary of several forecasts supplied to the Petroleum Resources Communications Foundation indicates that oil and gas will continue to account for about half of Canada's total energy demand at the turn of the century. While oil will decline, natural gas will increase to the 1990s and then level off.

■ Natural Gas  
■ Petroleum  
■ Coal  
■ Electricity  
■ Renewables



## COVER

out on his own, launching PRC. Some of the old guard civil rights leadership sawer Bagan's bay.

But Jackson's talent for the main chance and willingness to gamble were prominently exhibited in Damascus. Before leaving the United States, he secured pledges from Syrian officials on three points that he could count on: Goodman, religious leaders and Assad. He also sought a guarantee that Goodman would be freed, but the Syrians balked. Despite charges of graft—standing, Jackson went ahead with the trip. Since almost no one expected him to succeed, at least he stood to win points in some quarters for a humanitarian gesture. And if he did succeed, the bonanza of publicity and acclaim would be incalculable. But Jackson's boldness was inspired with shrewd caution. He was careful, for example, to consult with state department officials before he departed. He promptly offered to abandon the trip if Reagan requested it. (Reagan was equally aghast in refusing to take Jackson's phone calls, neither approving the mission nor shoring it.) In Syria, Jackson consulted with U.S. Ambassador Robert Paganelli and, during his marathon 32-hour flight home last week, crafted Paganelli's role in Goodman's release. And after his initial private meeting with Assad, held in a government villa outside the capital, Jackson was uncharacteristically silent. Sensing that Assad might override his cabinet and release Goodman, Jackson did not want to jeopardize the deal by declaring a premature victory.

When Jackson knows better than most that his triumph is finite. He has earned respect, but his task now is to convert respect into votes. Even in the midst of his harrowing journey, Jackson had already shifted focus. By week's end, he was in Portsmouth, N.H.—Goodman's home town—to campaign in the state's crucial February primary. He has based much of his early campaign on building a so-called window of peace of blacks, Hispanics, women, Indians, and other minorities, arguing that his efforts will broaden—not divide—the party.

Even after Damascus, there are more sleepless nights between. But Jesse Jackson has received that territory before—the defiant rank of the magazine. He has made a remarkable career out of surpassing expectations and defying convention. He once said: "An over-egotist is less dangerous than a covert egotist. You always know what he is, while he wants to be and how he is going to get there." Jackson's covert has already demonstrated the dark political side. However long he lingers in 1984, it will be impossible for anyone to avoid being touched by his heat or his light. ☐

## An extraordinary hostage

The question was the only one that broken heart. Robert O. Goodman's steadily self-contained facade. It came out from the crush of reporters who greeted him as his release in Damascus last Tuesday but from his father, retired air force lieutenant colonel Robert Goodman Sr. who was linked to the Syrian capital by satellite. "Son," growled the senior Goodman from his home in Task, Pa., "did you wear your lucky socks?" As the 37-year-old navy flier shamelessly admitted that he had left the footwar in a drawer back

after ejecting from his A-4E Intruder jet, Goodman's family shied from displaying its anguish.

His 36-year-old wife, Terry Lynn, went into isolation at their three-bedroom Virginia Heights home. Tins, 5, and Maggie, 3, she later admitted that she had been afraid the night under the release of the high school sweetheart she had known as "Godea" when they grew up as a black apart in Portsmouth, N.H.

Goodman's father, one of the first high-ranking black officers in the U.S. Air Force, kept a smaller staff military upper lip. After voicing initial skepticism about Jesse Jackson's mission to Syria, he later strayed into territory his son was careful to avoid, conceding that the black preacher-politician deserved "all the credit in the world."

**Captivity:** Only Goodman's steaming mother, Martha, a bank teller who moved with her two younger sons, Tyson, 24, and Martin, 13, to New York following her separation from her husband four years ago, responded to the media's hounding. But with the composure and aplomb of a seasoned media veteran, the quick-witted portrait of a patriot son whose quiet grit could outmatch Pentagon officials. In repeated interviews she intoned that he had always been "a tough nut," who persisted in playing high school football despite his height build and lack of speed (later, he said, indeed, Goodman acquired his love of flying from kicking air force rifles with his father, but when the time came to opt for a career he chose the navy's academy in Annapolis).

In his senior year in high school, Goodman was honored as the football player who had contributed most to a quiet, consistent way to be team. Last week, as he handled his liberation with modest dignity and calmly refused to provide any further comment, of Jackson's presidential bid, he seemed to deserve that status. The difference was that this time Robert O. Goodman's tests included all of America's.



Goodman and family: a cool political performance

home, television viewers caught a rare, intimate glimpse into an unrepentant military family that had accommodated in keeping a remarkably restrained vigil throughout its 36-day ordeal in the United States's latest hostage crisis.

**Applaud:** The Goodman's relieve set the tone for the liberated bomber-pilot's own cool and uncalculated apolitical performance after his release when his first words to the television cameras were, "I'm not a hero." The outcome was in marked contrast to the yearling media circus that preceded the lives of the families of the 92 U.S. hostages held in Tehran throughout 1980. From the moment that news of Goodman's capture flashed over the wire services on Dec. 4 with a poignant photo of Goodman, dourly in shock, looting against a Syrian soldier

## The push to register black voters

**"R**est in Peace: Voter Apathy," read the hand-scribbled poster that blacks paraded along Detroit ghetto sidewalks last summer. Unfortunately, the epithet has so far proved decidedly premature. With only 10 states of the United States' 174,000,000 voters legally eligible on the electoral lists, the voter registration drive that was launched across 24 states last June, aimed at increasing the black vote by 25 per cent, has met with only mixed success. But last week's progress from the black coalition of religious, civil rights and political groups behind the drive hailed Jesse Jackson's international public relations coup as an unqualified boost for their cause. Read Jeba Maybell, a 46-year-old engineer who has taken time away from his job to volunteer as the campaign in Jacksonville, N.C. "Jesse's victory in Syria can't hurt us. Maybe it will inspire some people to walk that extra mile to register."

**Promises:** According to Richard Hatcher, the black mayor of Gary, Ind., Jackson's promise to enlist at least two million new black voters by November's election is the most persuasive rationale behind his presidential bid. Hatcher: "If he achieves nothing else, his race will have been worthwhile." John E. Jacob, president of the National Urban League, which opposes Jackson's candidacy, observes that simply having a black candidate has given black voter registration a boost. (In the United States, unlike Canada, a voter must take the initiative to register before he or she is eligible to vote.)

With Gallup poll figures showing that only five per cent of blacks vote Republicans—and only 10 per cent approve of Ronald Reagan's performance in office—the president's re-election term is clearly worried about the campaign that has quickly become a crusade. Last May, 15 black Republicans gathered behind closed doors at the White House to warn of a probable black "segregation vote" unless Reagan modified various stances, above all the massive spending cuts on social programs at a time when black unemployment is estimated at 20 per cent—31 points higher than the national average. Indeed, any increase in the black vote going to the Democrats could cost the Republicans dearly in the South, where 53 per cent of the nation's black population lives. In the 1980 presidential election Reagan won the state of Alabama—at his DFL, 728 unregistered

black voters—by the slim margin of 77,462 ballots. He took Arkansas—with 85,000 unregistered blacks—by only 5,253 votes. Even in New York, where Reagan won handily by 165,459 ballots, the nearly one million unregistered blacks could swing him at the polls. If white voters strengthen Reagan's state and another three million blacks register and vote for the Democrats, some analysts estimate that blacks could

in county courthouses to register. Laments Jerry Wilson, director of the voting rights project of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta: "There's just too much intimidation."

Ironically, although Jackson—with his expanded platform about a "rainbow coalition" of blacks, Hispanics and other minorities—has been a prime mover of the voter drive, he may not benefit from it himself. Last month the



Black voter drive: 'Jesse's victory may inspire people to walk that extra mile'

ving the presidential election is at least 17 states.

**Enthusiasm:** It has never been easy to convince blacks to register. But the rash of recent victories for blacks, who now rule 651 cities, has sparked new enthusiasm into the drive. In the 1980 congressional elections the recent pattern of increased participation by black voters continued. Although only 49 per cent voted, that was a two-point increase from 1978. Indeed, more recent parts of the registration drive, 200,000 new black voters in 31 states signed up in only four months.

But problems remain. In the South, where the courts have forbidden postcard registrations, many rural blacks are still reluctant to make the long trip

key Alabama Democratic Conference endorsed Walter Mondale as its candidate. One Jackson aide called the decision "another dagger in the corpse of Martin Luther King."

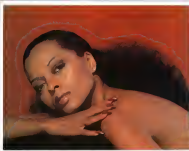
In fact, in the black community there has been mounting opposition to Jackson's Presidential campaign aspirations. Some of it clearly stems from a distrust of his celebrated ambitions, which have already bruised other black leaders. As one black activist of the Washington-based registration collective put it, pleading anonymity: "Together we will register more than two million blacks before the election. But get with, Jesse will try to take credit for it."

—WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

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Rose: the New York parks department still dreams of a children's park

## PEOPLE

**J**ohn Turner is apparently still intent on becoming prime minister eventually. As a result, he will not likely be flattered by *Leslie Pearson's* assessment of him when he attempted to become Pearson's successor in 1968. Three months after Pierre Trudeau won the leadership race, Pearson gazed in his diary that Turner had "a tendency to react too quickly and emotionally to estimations, to be too impulsive and eager."

*Follows (below) Turner (too eager)*



Last week the Public Archives mistakenly made the document, part of a batch of assorted Pearson papers, available to Toronto *Star* reporter Bruce Wint, along with some officially released 1968 correspondence. A gentler judgment of Turner appears in the last volume of Pearson's memoirs, *Mike*, published after his death on Dec. 27, 1972. But, said historian John Munro, coeditor of the memoirs, other Pearson papers made it clear that "Turner seemed to get under Mike Pearson's skin. He appeared... to be too impatient to enter the cabinet." Turner, 38 in 1968, is now silver-haired and 64. His 16-year wait for the job has shown him to be less impetuous than Pearson's appraisal of him—if no less ambitious.

**F**ifteen-year-old actress Maggie Fellows, one of Canada's most promising artistic expatriates, has been garnering rave reviews since she began her career five years ago. Her latest project is *Dawson's Lake*, a trial cut series also starring the former host of *Pearson's Night Martin* was. "It's a good situation comedy with that very off-the-wall Martin Mull humor," said Fellows. She says her role as Mull's daughter is that of "an average, 'up,' enthusiastic teenager" but, she admits, "they were not really sure what to do with me at first." Fellows, an L.A.-

based native of Toronto, has no such uncertainty: she wants her own film production company. *Follows (below) Rose*, her mother, and *Yan Fokawa*, separated four years ago, but they are making a film about the 1960s family with Regis, her brother, Lawrence, and sisters Edwina and Samantha. "We're doing it on our whole situation, showing we can still function as a unit," she said. The proposed title? *So What Follows*.

**S**inger Diana Ross's determined struggle to present a free concert in New York's sun-lashed Central Park last July seems to have been in vain. Ross did not give an expected donation from the concert's proceeds to New York's parks department, which planned to renovate a children's playground and name it in her honor. Paramount Pictures, responsible for the financing of the ill-fated production, said that there is no profit because a second show had to be staged after the first was rained out—even though it was broadcast internationally and on several cable networks. According to parks department spokesman *Adrian Senepe*, the city paid \$500,000 for security and staging up, despite the provision of a contract guaranteeing it 7% per cent of all net profits above production costs. But, said Senepe, considering that Paramount's accounting of expenses was "very incomplete." "We are sort of expecting—hoping—that there will be an offer whether they made a profit or not."

**D**uring a year in which more people left oil-rich Alberta than settled there, activity in one bustling Calgary slowed down noticeably. But in the flurry of gloom and doom, Calgary Mayor *Ralph Klein* was particularly targeted by an article in the November issue of *Saturday Night* magazine reporting westerners' disillusionment. It was written by Toronto writer *Ferry Calaghan*, one of the newcomers.

Klein described as "eastern creep and burn" two years ago. "It hardly seems fair to come to a city, dwell on the negative and say there is sadness in our most heart," Klein told an assembly of 800 *Easterners* Calaghan claimed to understand Klein's position. "He wants to cheer the Russians—and himself—up," he said. But Klein may be pleased to know that Calaghan also dislikes thoroughly eastern Ottawa. Said he: "My voice of hell is to be strangled at the Ottawa airport." ☐



Turner (above)

Contrary to popular belief, we will sell Gibson's Finest to any Tom, Dick or Harry.

# Charting the economy's course

By Shona McKay

The recent track record of Canada's economic forecasters has made them seem more like fortune tellers than efficient prognosticators. Not only did they fail to forecast the recent 50-month recession, but most of them grossly underestimated the strength of the recovery which began in 1983. The forecasters are determined to do better in 1984, and, although their predictions cover some major dangers, need less for sustained growth and stable interest rates until at least year's end.

With the benefit of hindsight, the experts now agree that 1983 was a period of condescension for the economy: last week the three leading automakers announced a 20-30 per cent increase in sales for the year over 1980, the prime interest rate stood at 11 per cent, down from a 1982 high of more than 22 per cent, and inflation had decreased dramatically, to 4.2 per cent from more than 12 per cent in 1981. The major new note was an unemployment rate of 13.1 per cent, which meant that 1983 featured the highest level of joblessness since the 1930s.

Despite their hopes of improving their accuracy, the economic pundits still disagree on what forecasts for 1984. For economists, that schizophrenia is an encouraging sign. After studying the variables into their computers, forecasters disagree on the outlook for interest rates, inflation and the growth rate for the economy in the months ahead. Most economists foresee a year of steady growth in the five-per-cent range, with stable or declining interest rates through the U.S. presidential elections in the fall, when policymakers may temporarily halt rebuilding inflation and ease interest rates to rise. But other experts predict steadily rising interest rates in the near term, and a minority also forecast much slower growth as consumer

spending and business investment weaken.

Canadians have forgotten for a moment the latest predictions. At the end of 1980 most experts predicted that Canada, along with the rest of the world, would pull out of a cyclical downturn. Instead, the world plunged into the worst recession in 50 years. Then, few forecasters predicted the turnaround that occurred after interest rates began dropping in mid-1982. Now

after war in Iran will do to the economy? You only have to read one aspect to be off. Even so, it is the business of forecasters today with the future. Says Michael McCracken, president of Ottawa-based Informetrix: "There are variables, but you have to ask yourself which ones you think will dominate and go with them."

In terms of 1984, most forecasters predict a continuing pattern of growth throughout 1984 after an estimated real growth of three per cent in 1983. One of the more bullish pundits is Thomas Maxwell of the Conference Board of Canada. He predicts that the rate of growth will slow down in the coming year to 2.7 per cent. Most other forecasters are bullish. A group of 37 economists surveyed by the board, as well as the Prime Minister's Office, see a continuation for Economic Co-operation and Development, has said that they expect Canada's economy to grow by an average of at least 4.5 per cent this year. Maxwell says his pessimism is based on continuing high unemployment and fiscal-audited spending and investment patterns by both consumers and business. But other economists are reassured by recent surveys that show a modest increase in plant and equipment investment by industry as well as a belief that consumers will continue to part with their savings dollars.

That bullish view gained credence last week as stock markets in Toronto, New York and other major centers surged toward record high closes. In high New York spiking, the 300 index rose 22.25 points in the week to close at 2,955.73 and, in explosive action in New York, the Dow Jones Industrial Average soared 28.41 points to 1,384.84. Still, the main reason for the optimism among economists is the outlook for interest rates. Replaces Ted Cornshead, senior analyst with the C.D. Howe Institute in Toronto. "There are



Ottawa employment officer: for those with jobs, it will be a better year

the difficulty of forecasting, given the vagaries of today's international monetary scene, has made many economists more restrained. Says Laval University economist Pierre Fortin, a member of Finance Minister Marc Lalonde's Economic Advisory Panel: "We should take forecasts with a grain of salt. There are too many uncertainties. Canadian economists have to know not only about monetary policy in this country but in the United States and Japan and Europe. And if they know that, say they then predict what another oil embargo or as-

two views about the future. One camp is concerned that the current level of interest rates is not consistent with real recovery and that with higher rates it will be impossible to sustain growth in Canada. The other group believes that growth will proceed with little regard to interest rates within the first years of recovery." Among the pessimists is the Toronto investment firm McLeod Young Weir Ltd., which has predicted that the prime rate will jump from the current 14 per cent to 16 per cent by mid-1985. By contrast, Informetrix forecasts that interest rates will either remain stable or decrease in 1984. Says McCracken: "The stability will come from the fact that it is the Bank of Can-



Ford assembly line: after a 50-month recession, forecasters are chastened

ada's policy to keep rates from going up. As well, as the United States seeks to retool the massive international debt, among to them, they are not likely to risk that prospect by increasing interest rates to the point where these countries may default."

The movement of interest rates in Canada will be largely determined by the situation in the United States. And U.S. economists are so divided in their predictions as their Canadian counterparts. At issue is whether or not the U.S. government will force rates up to stem an overly rapid growth spurt that might bring on another cycle of inflation. At the same time, the enormous U.S. federal deficit of \$200 billion is an

issue for the United States. Some economists predict that the lower rate of inflation in the United States will bring about a further depreciation of the Canadian dollar. This now could result in more inflation in the United States. On one hand, economists are particularly united: unemployment will continue to be the bane of the Canadian economy. There is little disagreement that the rate will hover at or near double-digit figures for the remainder of the decade. Says McCracken: "Although the labor force growth is picking up, we might even see a drift upward in unemployment during 1984 due to the fact that those people who dropped out of the work force are now trying to get back in." Canada's sorry employment picture has led some economists to question whether or not a claim can even be made for recovery. Says former Liberal cabinet minister and economist Eric Kierstead: "I am totally pessimistic because of the unemployment situation. What is going to pull us out of this and get people back to work?"

There are few answers to the question. Employers, baffled by the recent recession, are concentrating more on reducing their debt and getting their existing hours in order rather than expanding and hiring. Corporate profits have risen to an estimated 8.6 per cent of the GNP—still below the traditional level of 10.5 per cent. However, with profits expected to increase by 40 per cent this year, there is some optimism that the business community will regain its confidence. As for the 10.7 million Canadians lucky enough to be in the work force, there is general agreement among the forecasters that 1984 will be a better year. ☐



McCracken (left): Kierstead pessimistic about the troubling unemployment rate



# Murdoch raids Warner

By IAN ALLEN

When it became known last month that Rupert Murdoch, the secretive and controversial Australian media magnate, had become the largest single shareholder of embattled Warner Communications Inc. by acquiring a seven-per-cent holding, Wall Street was baffled. While his motives remain a puzzle, Murdoch made his goal clear last week. He revealed that he seeks to acquire as much as 40 per cent of the entertainment company's stock—a deal that could cost him more than \$500 million (US).

to remark: "All of what happens in the next 30 days will be a big game of uphill as everyone cuts each other and tries to throw monkey wrenches in the other's plans."

Warner is the latest target in a buying spree that Murdoch has carried out across the United States in recent years. The businessman's North American empire—he turned a single newspaper inherited from his father into a \$1-billion corporation—now includes the New York Post, the Village Voice and the Chicago Sun Times, as well as other newspapers and broadcasting outlets. But Murdoch's positive reputation as

operation and two record successes since then, largely by turning over creative control of the divisions to others, he has built one of the most successful media, television and record production houses in the United States. He dropped the federal business in 1972, but Warner's holdings now include *Mel* magazine and a partnership (with American Express Co.) in a cable TV operation. The bottom virtually fell out of Ross's empire last year when the videogame market crashed. Atari's spending went every where sales plummeted to one from the 1982 level of \$2 billion to \$3 billion instead fell by half. Some 2,000 employees lost their jobs.

Ross's first counter to Murdoch's attack was to call in Siegel, a longtime talent agent Siegel was involved in the long side of a big battle for control of

Personen Pictures and he began to be in the film business. Under Ross's plan, Warner would trade 20 per cent of its stock for a 42.5 per-cent holding in Chris-Craft's television subsidiary, RCT Inc. In addition, Chris-Craft would buy another six per cent of Warner's stock, leaving Siegel holding 20 per cent of Warner—a block so large that it would likely frustrate Murdoch's intentions.

Murdoch's stock took a blow at midweek in Washington. Lawyers for Murdoch's company filed a petition with the Federal Communications Commission seeking to block the Chris-Craft-Warner deal. The document asserted that the trade would break FCC regulations designed to avoid cross ownership of traditional broadcast and cable

operations. While it is still not clear what action the FCC will take in reviewing the petition, there were signs that Murdoch—at least for now—intends to fight the takeover battle all the way. Only hours after the petition was filed, Murdoch and his advisers met with Ross and Siegel.

Details of the meeting were not released, but it is believed that Chris-Craft's chairman made an unsuccessful offer for Murdoch's stake in Warner. If that happened, Murdoch's refusal is all the more remarkable even at last Thursday's market share price of \$28.38. Murdoch stood to gain \$85 million. Murdoch's apparent rebuff signals that a tough fight between the three dealmakers is inevitable. □



Murdoch's burgeoning press empire noted for sensational news, splashy headlines, sexy pictures.

as a dealmaker is not shared by many people who evaluate the products of the News Corporation Ltd., his holding company. While its balance sheet does list the venerable Times of London among its assets, most of his products are heavily promoted tabloids full of splashy headlines and sexy photos.

While Warner's Ross does not share Murdoch's trust of tightly controlling all aspects of his firm's daily operations, he did take a similar route to corporate power in the Australian firm started his career at his father-in-law's federal business, to which he added a retail air company and a parking lot firm in the late 1950s. Two years and many deals later he picked up Warner Ross (News Airtel, which at the time consisted of a mired motion picture



Fuel maintenance workers battle a strike: an imbroglio with political overtones.

## Turmoil at an auto plant

Following French automaker Talbot et Cie, the events of last week could not have been worse. For three days its massive plant outside Paris became a battleground as striking and nonstriking employees hurled bolts, fenders and steel tools at each other across a barracks of unshaded auto bodies. More than 100 people were injured, some seriously, and at least \$1 million in damage was caused to the huge factory which employed 15,000 people. On one day some workers even brandished revolvers—not fired—before riot police moved in.

Last week's fighting led to a decision by Talbot's owner, the Peugeot-Talbot-Gitron group, to close the facility for an unspecified period and end the company's future has become even more uncertain than ever. What is more, the 1,000 planned layoffs at Talbot that spurred the battle—the striking workers opposed the layoffs, the non-strikers did not—have become even more politically sensitive for President François Mitterrand's Socialist government—an administration already beleaguered by the disappearance of about 30,000 industrial jobs a month and an overall unemployment rate of 12.5 per cent.

Since privately owned Peugeot, France's largest automaker, took over Talbot from Chrysler Corp. five years ago, rumors have circulated that the automaker's demise was near. Talbot makes midrange cars selling for \$6,000 to \$10,000 which are produced in Britain and Spain, as well as the Paris plant. Late last year Peugeot, reeling from a

projected 1983 loss of \$325 million, announced that 2,000 Talbot jobs would have to be cut to secure the future of the line. Eventually the firm agreed to cut only 1,500 jobs when Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy's Socialist-Communist coalition government promised to invest \$175 million in the plant. But while the arrangement satisfied Peugeot, it did not end the government's political problems.

The most embarrassing aspect of the affair for the government has been the split between the unions. The workers opposed to any layoffs are members of a pro-Bertrand union while those favoring

a return to work belong to a Communist-based union that has accepted cutbacks as necessary to keep Talbot alive. Adding to the problem is the fact that most of the employees to be laid off are North African immigrants. In a further bid to restore peace, Socialist Minister is suggesting new financial incentives to help them return home.

For its part, Peugeot appeared to be using last week's episode as an excuse to prepare for a complete and permanent liquidation of Talbot. In response to protests over the company's original plan to cut 3,000 Talbot jobs, Peugeot announced in December that it had canceled plans to spend \$175 million to build a new model at the suburban factory. Then, last week, after announcing the indefinite closure of the Talbot plant—the move added about 25,000 workers without pay—Peugeot indicated that its Talbot shares were being transferred to two shell companies. That would free Peugeot of any financial responsibility if Talbot declared bankruptcy—a move that would take at least six months under French law.

Although Talbot's future looks bleak, the French government appears anxious to maintain auto production in France. The first low-cost loans from a newly created industrial reactivation fund will likely go to both Peugeot and its state-owned competitor, Renault Nationale d'Automobile. Already the firm has collected \$2.5 billion in tax-free deposits from the public through the country's system of largely state-owned banks. The automaker must rush to equip its plants with robots and other automated machinery. But, whatever long-term benefits the fund brings to the industry, they will not assuage the wounds from last week's showdown. —IAN ALLEN in Toronto

Shocked thing worker: the French government about a controversial deal.



# The high cost of free trade

By Peter C. Newman

**T**he never-ending search for a quick fix that would allow Canadian manufacturers unlimited access to the U.S. market is revealing the true cost of a U.S.-Canadian trade agreement.

One of the basic arguments for or against such a deal has changed significantly since Canadian voters soundly defeated the idea in the 1991 election, but circumstances are vastly different. It is a tale that has always intrigued businessmen in this country. Vice-presidents of American firms have to cover the sales graph-slashing prospect of serving more than 20 million cash-happy customers instead of being restricted to 25 million peep-popping Canadians.

The nation was electrified once to have attracted what was laughably called Ronald Reagan's brain trust—advisers who in the original 1980 platform boasted that the maple quadrant would take this continent from the Coppermine River to the Yosemite Peninsula in one huge economic leap. The theory was that more efficient realizations of natural and secondary resources would make us all richer and happier. Canadians were expected to jump to the scene.

Reagan has since been diverted by more 99-yearling concerns—like Canada's threat to take over the universe. But a growing number of thoughtful Canadians, in and out of government, remain convinced that dealing with all barriers to the more than \$100 billion in Canada-U.S. trade is the way to go.

What's new about the current debate is that, without too many people being aware of it, Canadian tariff protection is rapidly evaporating even as the last Tokyo round of GATT negotiations. It was agreed that by 1997 Canada's duties on industrial products will be reduced by 40 per cent, leaving only a 10-per-cent tariff wall between us and the Americans. "Further seven in this direction," says Prof. Abraham Brattin, a University of Toronto economist who presented a brief to the Macdonald committee on the issue on behalf of the Canadian Institute for Free-trade Policy, "are laid by economic theories of the United States on the kind of 'protection' needed and given over the difficult problems of our launch-giant economy. Calls for free trade divert attention as well from the main con-

cerns of developing an industrial policy to deal with high unemployment."

To smooth out the transition, Ottawa has devised a sector-by-sector free trade approach, with such items as urban mass transit equipment, textiles and petrochemicals leading the way. The problem with all this, as Brattin and others have pointed out, is that at the same time as our industries would gradually be giving access to U.S. customers their manufacturers would be



Possible 'economic illusion'

swamping our markets—battered by the built-in price advantage of larger firms and larger promotional budgets. (Of the many production factors, only two—marginally lower wages and proximity to raw materials—drive some Canadian locations and sectors.) Canada's early long-term experience with second free trade has been in the agricultural implements industry, which has been doing fine since 1944. The result has been a dramatic shift of manufacturing to south of the 49th parallel.

Unlike most free trade negotiations,

the ultimate shape of the U.S.-Canada economic relationship would not be determined by market forces. Because nearly half of our secondary manufacturing is owned by Americans, goods move across the border at internal transfer prices rather than at competitive rates. According to a recent federal government report, "Heavy U.S. ownership in Canadian industry would, through the operation of boardroom prejudices, result in Canadian production being relocated in the United States even in those instances where Canadian production costs were lower." Brattin says that 50 per cent of our exports to the United States take place between firms in which one partner has at least five per cent of the equity of the other. "It is as if in Wonderland economies to export French plants in Canada to compete with their U.S. parent companies on their home ground. Indeed, the reverse phenomenon is more likely: free trade will encourage the dismantling of Canadian brick plants, and our market will be served either from the United States or from related production in Southeast Asia."

High-minded pledges supporting free trade don't really mesh very much on either side. Just last week Ottawa staged an arena 77-per-cent tariff on U.S. stainless steel following a trade war with Washington last July. During 1980 there were 40 protectionist bills before Congress that would restrict Canadian exports. When we still suffer from double-digit unemployment, it is such an irony to expect a free trade pact that could devastate our manufacturing sector.

In the background is the memory of George F.W. Hegel's prediction in his book, *The Philosophy of Power*: "Sooner or later, capitalism's impetus will be impeded by free movement of all goods back and forth across our long border, and when that occurs, or even before it does, it will become unmistakably clear that countries with economies so inextricably interlinked must also have free movement of the other vital factors of production: capital, services and labor. The result will inevitably be substantial economic integration which will require for its full realization a progressively expanding area of common political decisions."

Any such harmonization of our two countries' economic policies is bound to set us at our sovereignty and reduce the already shaky vitality of Canadian autarkhood.

# Sorensen triumphs as men's team falters

**I**n an abrupt reversal of fortune, a downcast Steve Larigue delivered a post-mortem Saturday on Lara, Switzerland, to the Canadian men's downhill skiers following their worst showing of the season. Meanwhile, in Pay Saint-Vincent, France, Gerry Sorensen picked up a glass of wine and joined her teammates on the women's team in a victory toast. Sorensen, of Kimberley, B.C., had just won her first World Cup downhill race in 22 months, and finally the women had something to celebrate. Larigue, however, one of the men's downhillers, could only lament his team's first disappointment at the 1993-94 season. Steve Podkorski, who had finished as worse than seventh in the three races before Christmas, placed 17th—and that was the team's best result. Todd Brooker, the World Cup downhill leader before Lara, crashed in practice Friday, hurting his ankle, his head and his chances of winning the downhill title Saturday. Brooker watched as his brother of Switzerland won the race and took over the lead.

The long Saint Vincent snow perfectly suited Sorensen's superior leg strength and gliding ability. She finished 1.2 seconds ahead of second-place Veronika Vintarova of Austria. "It feels great," said the 30-year-old Sorensen. "After New Year's I doubted that, because this might be my last year, I was just going to ski and not worry about things." Larigue Graham's 13th-place finish also was encouraging. It was the first time she placed in the top 15 this season. Graham, 24, the 1991-92 women's downhiller after her World Cup win at Mont Tremblant, Que., last March, struggled through December after knee surgery in the fall.

As for the men, Larigue said, "I don't think this will happen again." Brooker will race Jan. 14 at Whang, Switzerland, and, more important, there is a sense of harmony on the team that has not existed in recent years. "We are happy," Podkorski said. "Everybody is in a very relaxed, easygoing and very positive mood." The absence of two veterans from the team may have made the difference between this season and last. Brooker had played central roles in the Canadians' climb from World Cup obscurity to the pinnacle of men's downhill racing, which they now share with the Austrians and the Swiss. But both also carried a lot of internal trouble. The current strong morale "has more to do with Ken Read and John Ritchie not being around than it

does with Larigue being there," said a team member who asked not to be identified. "Ken and John fought the oats and dogs," he added, "and everyone was tense about that half of the time. There were always arguments going on."

Read, one of Canada's original downhill racing stars, and Ritchie, head coach of the men's team, both retired at the end of last season. They admit that they rarely agreed. They still do not



Sorensen: first victory in 22 months

Read, the first non-European male to win a World Cup downhill race, is Val d'Isere just over eight years ago, blames his former coach for misrepresenting the slide races and ignoring the younger ones. "Ritchie literally created a controlled environment and took on a spokesman's role while we were not always warranted," said Read. "It was his stated position that the top guys were not to be affected in the slightest by what the younger skiers needed." Replied Ritchie, the team coach from 1977 to 1983: "I imagine Ken thought I was playing favorites with Steve [Podkorski]. Steve's results the year before

[1982] were better than Ken's, so I have to be looking for reasons why."

The Canadian Ski Association elected not to replace Ritchie when he retired. "The co-ordinators in these under myself," said the program director Andrzej Kuchta, "so we didn't see the duplication of the same thing." Instead, the reins of command passed to Larigue, head coach of the men's downhill team. Larigue despite a heavy mountain and coaching brother, Larigue, 38, has worked his way up to the Cdn coaching ladder since joining the program in 1979 on men's European down-hill coach. He is quiet and diplomatic and clearly uncomfortable in the limelight. "I'm the guy the press likes to say that John [Ritchie] is not here," he noted. "But there is a whole network of people doing look and a job as I am who seldom get mentioned." Unlike Ritchie, who maintains a high profile running his own Calgary-based company, when Larigue leaves the coach he will return to the anonymity of cabinet making.

For now, Larigue will concentrate on preparing his skiers for the men's World Cup season and the tri Winter Olympics at Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, next month. The next two races could quickly restore the men's team's confidence. Podkorski has twice finished third in the World Cup men's slalom, Jan. 21, in Elmwood, Brooker's victory three years ago was the fourth by a Canadian in four years after declaring, "I'm finished," when he tumbled and tore ligaments in one of his knees last March at Whang. Podkorski, the 1982 World Cup downhill champion, returned for what will probably be one final season. "Steve's a lot different this year," said Brooker. "He is starting to enjoy a lot of things again. He got out and played a lot of golf. He is in his senior used to die that." Podkorski, 26 and in his 11th winter on the national team, acknowledges that he was "too insulated from the younger guys. Now I am enjoying their seniority and the desire you can have when you are just beginning and don't know what you're going to."

The newfound harmony still may not produce Olympic medals, but at least the five Canadian skiers who line up for the men's downhill on Feb. 6 at Sarajevo will have their own share to focus on the task ahead. And after Sunday's descent won by Sorensen, the women's team also has good reason to look forward to the Olympics.

—LAN LEBNIE in Toronto.

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Zimmer: "after all the man comes out brutalized and makes the woman pay."

## LAW

## The cost of getting tough

By Gillian MacKay

**T**he traditional feminist view of a battered woman is that of a victim twice abused—first by her husband and secondly by the police and judiciary who neglect to take her problem seriously. But in recent years, the battered woman has become a somewhat controversial, a hot political issue, official attitudes have undergone a radical shift. Across the country, federal and provincial politicians now urge police and the courts to depart from the traditional view of the battered woman as the lone, a private matter between spouses used to generate case rigorously—even when the victims themselves may not agree. Where the conventional view policies have been adopted, it has led to dramatic increases in convictions. But what they touched off a heated public debate when an Ontario provincial court judge sentenced a 29-year-old pregnant woman to three months in jail for refusing to testify against her alleged rapist. The judge's decision was a reflection of the federal health and welfare department's National Clearinghouse on Family Violence. "It's no secret. For years the system is accused of doing too little to help, and now it looks like it's doing a little too much for the women," says one of the women on the ex-

Dispute is bizarre contention, the case began much like any other last fall. Karen Mitchell, of Griffin, Ore., gave a written statement to the police, asserting her common-law husband, Terry Reed, 32, of assault on two occasions. According to the police, Mitchell asked them to lay assault charges. But before the case came to trial in December, Mitchell asked police to drop the matter, denying that she had ever intended to press charges. In court last week, Mitchell, who is four months pregnant with Reed's child, explained that the couple intends to marry as soon as he obtains a divorce and called the incidents of last fall "just a dispute between the two of us."

In the past, Mitchell's change of heart would undoubtedly have put a swift end to the proceedings; before the case ever reached court. But new policy directives, which Attorney General Roy McNairy issued in August, kept the hearts of justice pounding. In delivering his judgment, Provincial Court Judge Leonard Montgomery said that the refusal to testify in stress of violence constitutes a "grave attack on law and order in this country," with the result that "criminals could go unpunished." Reed will remain in custody until his case is heard March 30.

The judge's contempt of court ruling followed closely on a similar case last

month in which an Ottawa woman was sentenced to life in jail for refusing to testify against an alleged rapist because she feared retaliation. Macgregor pointed out his comparatively harsher sentence on the grounds that Mitchell had so much evidence. Contempt of court is one of the few areas of law in which a judge can exercise full discretion. The average judge, he said, would not be inclined to place, in appeal, preempted calls from the legal community for guidelines from the Court of Appeal on the use of contempt of court rulings. Said Reid Levy, president of the Canadian Criminal Lawyers Association: "Unfortunately, when the public perceives that a judge's rights give us just what an attorney needs to win a trial, it creates a demand for the law."

The case has also sparked debate on how far the state should intervene in cases of family violence. In similar attempts to circumvent the reluctance of their husbands, the widows general of Manitoba and Saskatchewan and Solicitor General Robert Kaplan also issued policy directives in the past year urging police to investigate the intimate violence charges and Crown prosecutors to prosecute domestic assault cases vigorously. But Toronto criminal lawyer Edward Greenspan, head of the criminal justice section of the Canadian Bar Association, says that the state should not "interpose" its power. "The state should not interpose itself between spouses should have the right to manage each other and keep their dispute out of court," said Greenspan. "As long as the Crown is satisfied that the person is not withdrawing out of fear of the spouse, it is not the state's business that they can." Most authorities on family violence, however, argue that battered women, who are often too intimidated to assert themselves, need the state's help. "The state has a role in violence is a matter of broader social concerns. And federal justice department concerns," said Justice Department lawyer Page Campbell. "It is no longer a matter of people believing the hell is in such either, will it become a matter of people believing the hell is in the state must intervene to stop it."

Whether or not the violence can be stopped is central to the issue. Those who support greater state intervention say that even the threat of prosecution is a proven deterrent to family violence. But that is not always true. Said Lynn Eisner of Toronto's Internal House, a shelter for battered women, "Too often the sentences are completely unhelpful. After a brief jail term, the man comes out even more brutalized and makes the women pay." As a result, despite the law's change in emphasis, many battered women may continue to choose silence over having their day in court.

Wise, Andrew, Carol, &amp; Thomas

**PRESS**

## Newsweek's new editor

**E**mergency Newsweek stands its last week's shrill report of top editors was a mounting one. Just 16 months into his tenure, Editor in Chief William Broyles Jr., the 39-year-old Texas-born underdog, landed in his resignation. Said Broyles: "It was hard for me to freely admit that a job which is so prestigious and so important was not for me. I thought I should have been planned to write a novel or a play, possibly based on his experience as a marine in Vietnam. So abrupt was Broyles's departure that his replacement, former executive editor Richard M. Smith, had to be summoned back to the magazine's New York City headquarters in a matter of days. Smith, 52, believes the abrupt ending is one of the magazine since 1973.

Apart from the timing, Broyles' departure was widely rumored. Before coming to Newsweek, he served as chief economist at the office of Trans-Alaska Pipeline and California magistrates Katherine Graham, the powerful, structural chairman—and dominant stockholder—of the magazine's parent firm, the Washington Post Co., personally recruited Broyles. Her aim was to close the gap between Time, the United States' number 1 newsmagazine, with a circulation of 59 million, and second-place Newsweek, with a circulation of 36 million.

But most from the beginning, Broyles' preference for feature-oriented over stories—on physical fitness, health and College Park dolls, among others—clashed with the hard-nosed heat of older *Newseweek* hands. Enraptured by senior editors who were passed over for the top slot, hardly helped Broyles. And two cover stories in the same month last year on the sexually fraudulent "Hitler diaries" proved even more damaging, earning *Newseweek* a catty "Dance of the March" award from *Harper's* magazine.

Ninemorek builds on Smith's promotion as a symbol of a return to "normalcy" and a renewed stress on immediate news. Said one staffer "Brydges was an experiment that failed. Smith is an ultra-safe choice. He is a total company man who will not rock the boat." If so, his grip on Ninemorek's notoriously slippery tiller could last for longer than his two star-crossed predecessors.

—LENNY GLYN in New York.



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**P. Allagarsamy** *refugees* (Ottawa: Canadian Council of Refugees, 2004).

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# A disunited front in Nova Scotia

By Michael Chagnon

Nova Scotia's 30,000-strong black community, centred mainly in Halifax County, is Canada's largest concentration of native-born black citizens. As descendants of slaves, freedmen and Loyalists, blacks have lived in the shadows of the province's history. But in the past five months black Nova Scotians have become embroiled in an embarrassing controversy that threatens to undermine their hard-won political and social identity. It also endangers the new unified, secular, political organization in their 50th year birthday (the Black United Front (BUF), formed in 1970 to clear the enormous social and economic gaps that existed between whites and blacks in the region). Last month, in a dispute involving the alleged misuse of government grant money, the BUF lost all of its provincial funding and most of its credibility. And since that time there has been a growing chasm between the black community to replace the organization's embattled director, Rhianus Rashed, 39. Rashed was former BUF organizer. "It has taken on too much to put this far if the BUF goes under, who knows how long it will take us to make up the lost ground?"

The controversy heated up after a provincial audit of the BUF's finances reported on 13 "areas of concern" which "at worst constitute... a violation of our funding agreement with the BUF and as areas of public funds." According to a 10-page report written by John A. MacKenzie, deputy social services minister, Rashed had rented a car with BUF funds. The audit also showed that Rashed had used \$900 of BUF funds to pay parking tickets and \$300 more to pay the audit written on his own private vehicle, a 1983 Toyota. Auditors found that RUF salary cheques were improperly signed, minutes of meetings were inadequately recorded, and \$9,075.11 in staff income taxes had not been paid. In response, provincial Minister Ravenna Munroe Edmond Martin cancelled next year's core grant to the BUF (last year's provincial contribution was \$280,406). However, no legal charges have been laid by either Munroe or the BUF's governing council—the only parties that can file complaints against Rashed. In a move charged with high above Halifax harbor, Rashed seemed isolated from this furore.

In a *Maclean's* interview last week he dismissed the controversy as a combina-

tion of unfair press coverage and "irresponsible" charges from embittered former employees. He said that he had rented the car for use by BUF staff and that using BUF funds for his own insurance was an honest mistake which he would rectify by paying back the \$2,000. He argued that the provincial complaints in the audit were simply innocent oversight. Rashed said, "They have pointed out some problem areas,



Rashed simply innocent oversight

and we will see that they are attended to. It is as simple as that."

Rashed was born Art Chavis in Knoxville, NS, and changed his name when he adopted the Islamic faith four years ago. The foundations for the BUF were laid in the recently changed year of 1968 after the provincial government, in a controversial move, bulldozed the black slave called Africville in Halifax, and Black Panther activists from the United States visited the province and urged black leaders to form a political

organization. Rashed became director of the BUF in 1970 and takes credit for lobbying provincial and municipal governments for social, economic and educational improvements for the community. Historically, the black unemployment level in Nova Scotia is twice the rate of white workers in the province. But during Rashed's 30 years at the BUF more than 30 employees left in frustration. Some complained that Rashed repeatedly handpicked council members, bypassed electoral procedures, and used other seemingly arbitrary methods of management. When Nova Scotia's New Democratic Party leader, Alexa McDonough, and in a Dec. 4 press release that "a BUF corrupted by cynical patronage to serve political interests" could not be a proper voice for the black community, she received more than 30 supportive letters and phone calls from black Nova Scotians. The single edited response was from a member of the BUF's board.

After a former BUF worker told racial allegations of a subset of blacks last issue, members of the BUF reacted quickly in the black community. Six former workers formed the Halifax Committee for a Responsible Black United Front in September. It quickly found support from the North Prince Rate Payors Association, representing an area near Halifax which is one of the largest black communities in the province, and from religious leaders and other community figures. They called for a public inquiry into the BUF, the firing of Rashed and the formation of an organization to take the BUF's place. Both Rashed and the Halifax committee said that they will meet with Munroe to ask government funding. For his part, the minister has left the door open to provide public money for an organization that will effectively and responsibly address the social development needs of black citizens of Nova Scotia.

For community members outside of the BUF, the controversy is entangling. Said Rev. Donald Slater, a prominent figure in the large black population in Preston: "I think there is a definite need that the BUF be reintroduced, with new people in control. But I hope these hard times do not stagnate the whole black community. Quits often that happen—something goes wrong, and the whole race is labelled." Still, some community leaders such as Social Services Minister Martin later this month, the voice of Nova Scotia blacks will be significantly diminished. □



Valley and Steinberg: a brain abnormality that has nothing to do with intelligence

## MEDICINE

# Insights into dyslexia

By Patricia Hsieh

When Brian Valley moved to Toronto from St. John five years ago at the age of 30, he invariably lost his way while riding the subway unless he owned the station and tried to remember their colors. The reason, Valley suffers from dyslexia, a poorly understood reading and language disability that left him unable to recognize more than 30 simple words to speak in coherent sentences. Now, after four years of intensive remedial classes, the 35-year-old steelworker can read and express himself clearly. Evidently, doctors believed that dyslexia was a psychological disorder. But now educators and experts on brain function are beginning to realize that the estimated 20-200 North Americans who have experienced difficulty reading and coping with language are likely suffering from a brain abnormality that has nothing to do with intelligence. Many researchers now believe that the abnormality is innate and perhaps even genetically influenced. And a growing body of recent research is shedding light on how brain activity in dyslexics or of brain tissue from dyslexics who have died has influenced the recent theories.

The research has detected functional and structural abnormalities in dyslexics' brains. Perhaps the most exciting work is be-

ing conducted in Boston. Three scientists have examined the preserved brains of two dyslexics who died and are currently studying another five brains from deceased dyslexics. Their work began in 1979 when Dr. Albert Galaburda, a neurologist at Beth Israel Hospital, and Dr. Thomas Kemper, a neuropathologist at Boston City Hospital, examined more than 1,000 slices of the brain of a 30-year-old dyslexic man killed in an accident.

As reported in the *U.S. Annals of Neurology* in 1979, they found alterations in the cells and cellular structure of the outer layers of the left hemisphere of the brain, the area that controls language. The two scientists concluded that the alterations occurred no later than the first 15 to 20 weeks of fetal life, a time when that part of the brain develops. Complete analysis of the second brain from a dyslexic and preliminary studies on the four others seem to corroborate the initial findings. Galaburda told *Maclean's* He commented that many more brain autopsies will have to be done before scientists can confidently say the dyslexic brain is different. But he added, "Now we have a new way of looking at the problem." Galaburda and Beth Israel neurologist Dr. Norman Geschwind are now conducting experiments on animals to determine whether the same hormone testosterone might be implicated in the

brain abnormality, a theory based on the fact that males suffer from dyslexia six times more often than females by about 4:1.

Meanwhile, other researchers have detected abnormalities in the brain function of dyslexics using electroencephalography (EEG). Based up to computers and other brain-scanning technology, Dr. Frank Duffy of Boston's Children's Hospital, for one, combined an EEG with a computer to obtain color pictures of the activity in dyslexics' brains as they performed various tasks involving language. In the *Annals of Neurology* in 1980 he reported significant differences between the brain patterns of dyslexics and normal children.

Reports say the new research is helping to put an end to the frustration and low self-esteem that dyslexics traditionally experienced when parents and teachers accused them of being stupid, lazy or both. In fact, dyslexics are a varied group. They can suffer an array of difficulties in synthesizing language. Many cannot transcribe written words into sounds, or vice-versa. Some dyslexics cannot read or write without transposing letters. Many are poor spellers and write in a barely legible hand, even when they are gifted artists. In order to improve, dyslexics must spend many hours performing tedious reading and written drills, sometimes associating words or sounds with colors. Commented Mary Louisa Rosenthal, principal of Toronto's Remedial Reading Centre, "Often dyslexics feel they are terrible students. I try to make sure they know that their brains cannot learn in a way other people's can. The new research will help them feel better about themselves." However, Dr. Alan Offens, a dyslexic who could not read until age 10 but is now a medical resident at St. Paul's Hospital in Vancouver, cautions that some people who learn that dyslexia is organically based may become even more prejudiced. Said Offens, "That may just reinforce their view that dyslexics are almost mentally retarded."

Still, researchers attempting to discover the organic causes of dyslexia say they are far from a breakthrough. But even if they find a cure, it is unlikely that they will find a cure, they say that would not necessarily mean medical science could safely prevent children from becoming dyslexic or cure the anecdotal evidence suggests that dyslexics have greater conversational skills in such areas as athletics and the arts. But he concluded, "Early intervention and educational therapy can produce tremendous results." □



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# Fuzzy snapshots of a failed romance

PITCH DARK  
By Ewan Adler  
(Random House of Canada,  
244 pages, \$14.95)

Kate Rankin, the fictional narrator of Ewan Adler's *Pitch Dark*, is in her home on the edge of middle age. She has just broken up, or is about to break up, with a vaguely portrayed lover called Jake. The exact status is not clear, because Adler deals not in matter-of-fact, hour-by-hour chronicle but in moods and mementos. Still, despite the oblique depiction of her character, Rankin is familiar enough as a re-creation of Joe Punt, the narrator of Adler's first novel, *Speedboat* (1976). Both have elusive lovers and waste their intelligence labouring as reporters on tabloids. Both also come of age during the repressive 1960s when, as Rankin says, it was "almost universally believed that the world contained five, or at the most six, homosexuals" and both women spend a lot of time wrestling discomfort with an exclusive school. Indeed, the re-creation is so complete that the characterization and technique that were so fresh in *Speedboat* appear in *Pitch Dark* to be self-plagiarism.

What made *Speedboat* one of the most original creations of the 1970s were its images, short and daring vignettes. They did not tell a conventional story but expressed instead the sensibility of a generation, smart and reserved, whose goodbook to life seemed to have fallen between the most conservative of its parents and the fashionable style of its parents. That sensibility breathes in *Pitch Dark*: "Ocean Island," the opening chapter, recalls the privileged memories of *Speedboat*. But it adds fragments of things that never objectively "Did I throw the most important thing, by accident, away?" or "How could I know that every time you had a chance to choose you would choose the other thing?" Some of those moments eventually find their context, but many do not. That dialogue, in the areas of personal interaction, barely exists, except in snapshots of prose without quotation marks that reveal a secondary character, usually Jake, only by minute shifts of tone. Like clandestine tapes secretly copied, *Pitch Dark* presents an entirely internal drama.

Employing that same talent, *Speedboat* fascinated and warranted rereading. *Pitch Dark*, with its failure to decide whether to be blatant or mysterious, presents a barrier so teasingly am-



Adler, spiritual faces and physical memories

biguous as the veil of a confessional book. Only in the last section does Adler try to plot a straight narrative course. A disappointingly fuzzy tale of greediness, guilt and fertile passions, the section concludes into the form of a short story and is the most sustained

piece of plotting that Adler has yet written. Flaming from her dashed romance, Rankin sees a car at Inland's Shannon Airport to drive down to the estate of an ambassador acquaintance. On the way she has a minor accident with a truck, and her over-ambitious sister starts plotting together a conspiracy. It is at this point in the novel that a rainy night holds her in England.

One question that resurfaces in both the most blatant and mysterious passages is whether Rankin, Punt or Adler is under observation. Into the eddy sea of red herrings that Adler conjures up, she tosses a few sharp clues to her real purpose. From Inland, Rankin barely considers travelling incognito under the name of Adler in the concluding section, "Home," she turns into a filibustering expert on U.S. constitutional law. These essays tell the reader less about Rankin than about Adler's recent shift at Yale Law School.

The strict division of the language of the law formalizes Adler's style. Her writing, with its skewed rhythms, its counterpoint use of dead and alive, appears more to be the faculty of logic than to be the primitive, creative, groping, seductive. One, like a brilliantly promoted brief, her reserved prose curiously underlines *Pitch Dark* instead of an unbridled intimacy, with emerges to a caressed and chilly performance. —SILVIA MACVIGOR

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *Preliminary*, King (7)
- 2 *Peter, Michael* (5)
- 3 *Blackboard's Edge*, Atwood (2)
- 4 *A Time For Pines*, Colquhoun (2)
- 5 *The Wicked Day*, Stewart (2)
- 6 *The Name of the Rose*, Eco (4)
- 7 *Jelly-Belly*, Lee (7)
- 8 *Berlin Game*, Doyle (3)
- 9 *Phonograph*, MacLean (5)
- 10 *An Inconvenient Millionaire*, Freeman (10)

February (10)

### Nonfiction

- 1 *The Game*, Doyle (1)
- 2 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (8)
- 3 *You Can't Print That*, Lynch (2)
- 4 *The Money Spymasters*, McQueen (2)
- 5 *Look Ma—No Hands*, Polakowski (2)
- 6 *Contradictions*, Martin, Grupp and Perle (2)
- 7 *The Best of James Herriot*, Stewart (7)
- 8 *Debert's Illustrated Guide to the Canadian Establishment*, Newman (5)
- 9 *Other People's Money*, Foster (7)
- 10 *True North, Not Strong and Free*, Newman (10)

(7) Fiction best week



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## We've been there.

### TELEVISION

## Comic visions of murder and success

By Bill MacVicar

A short, slight pop-psychologist sipping club soda in a bar suddenly runs amok and picks a brawl with a hockey player twice his size. The bawling pro throws a punch in self-defense, and the Cuckoo Willyesque-turned-Wild Man of Borneo falls to the floor, dead. That quick, unlikely dress opera the 30-minute episode debut, on Jan. 15, of the hit CBC series *Serieux Things*. Within a few brief moments the viewer enters an exotic Toronto briefing with as many British conspiracies as Istanbul or Marrakesh. The people who solve these puzzles are an unlikely assortment of amateurs and professionals whose bawling playfulness spurs up the scenes. With eight new episodes about to go on the air, *Serieux Things* is the CBC's most offensively animated current dramatic series. It is also the network's biggest money-maker, with almost \$1 million in foreign sales.

The appeal for viewers in Canada and Mother countries is its awareness and individuality of what is, along with *SCFF*, one of the finest ensemble acting troupes ever assembled for Canadian television. Heading the cast is Louis Del Grande, playing Louis Greene, an ex-sensational general-assignment reporter for the *Toronto Gazette* who is afflicted with second sight. The unrelenting quirk of replaying details of past murders plunges him into the middle of investigations. Complementing Greene is an estranged spouse, Marge (Martha Gibson, Del Grande's wife), a *Plain Jane* terrified by the visions that belie her husband and somewhat jealous of the career-girl charms of the journalist's cohort, Crowe. Attorney Heather Redfern (Janet-Laine Green). With the support of recurring characters in minor roles, the principals custom hour after hour of an original hybrid of comedy, mystery and the occult.

Now that the CBC has completed *Episodes*, and at least eight more are slated for production in 1986, *Serieux Things* has gained attention outside Canada as an attractive purchase for syndication. Almost 50 Public Broadcasting System (PBS) affiliates have bought the show, and *WNET* in New York City began to air it in the fall of 1985. PBS audiences tend to be fiercely loyal, for while a position on the network's schedule is not quite as valuable as a rating in the *A.C. Nielsen* Top-10, it is a guarantee of continuing and discerning interest. Coordon Anne Meira (Ar-

cher's Place) happened to see an episode on *WNET* one Saturday evening and wrote a letter to Del Grande "Applause, applause for wonderful acting, directing and writing."

Most of the other 100 stations will be airing *Serieux Things* later this month. Said Marjorie Laur Swaggett, who is in charge of acquisitions for *WNET* and who saw the premiere episode at a programming convention in Las Vegas: "I thought it was fresh and funny—everything that I needed of that kind should be I left Las Vegas wondering, 'I want that.' But for some reason the CBC was not ready to sell it, so periodically I would hound them, say 'Yes, what's happening?' Finally I got it and I think it is terrific. I had been waiting a long time."

Although the mailboxes are fire-engine red in *Serieux Things*, not a stereotypical trucker, and Crowe attorneys supplant municipally elected district attorneys, most of the series' frame of reference should be familiar to American viewers. At the same time, English-speaking audiences in Britain, Ireland (where, after *Cosmos* Street, it is the most popular show), Australia, South Africa and such Caribbean islands as Jamaica and Barbados may miss a few of the weather, offhand references to Toronto's peculiarities and to passing birds in North American culture. And because the show is dubbed into a globe-grubbing babel of languages, many comic subtleties will inevitably go astray. Among the 16 foreign countries that have bought *Serieux Things*, with

Del Grande: a commercially successful hybrid of comedy, mystery and the occult



man family and Australia offering production funds, are such distractions. In his land, the Philippines, South Africa and Singapore. But while the dialogue on the show has a strong, quicksilver sparkle, the tightly crafted plots and the infectious sense of fun shield viewers from translation problems. A few other notable shows have done well abroad, notably *King of Kensington*, which the CBC sold to 18 foreign countries. Significantly, Del Grande produced and helped to write that show, and *Sevens Thence*, despite credits and a variety of fine talent, has his hallmark stamped throughout. All the evidence points to the fact that he is the shining genius of the show's extraordinary success.

The basic conception of the program arose from a pilot that Del Grande and his coproducer, David Blawie, tried unsuccessfully to sell to production companies during a nightmare season from 1979 to 1980 in Hollywood. Del Grande and Blawie brought the rough idea back to the CBC which aired the first three episodes in the fall of 1980. In its second season, in 1980-81, the weekly audience was about 900,000, a number that was uncharacteristically maintained during years last summer. These figures not relatively little. A one-hour installment of *Sevens Thence* costs about \$350,000, a U.S. show of similar length with as many a glass to its production values and as several a roster of guest stars would cost up almost \$1 million (lower overhead and salaries account for the economy).

As well, the relaxed working atmosphere of the show attracts many of its guest stars, including Barbara Hamilton, Kate Reid and Mike Tomlinson. Gordon Pinsent thanks the show for snatching him out of the period costumes he endured in *A Guy to Last* and *The Life and Times of Jesus Almost Dead* to play a mild financial guru who sports stylishly red trousers and a goatee. Said Pinsent: "There are clothes I haven't been able to work in since I came from Winnipeg in 1980. And there is no feeling of fly-by-night on that show. It has a premise that works, and the reason it sells elsewhere is because it links up with contemporary human concerns."

Del Grande's self-deprecating sense of humor is indeed the key to the show's sophistication. A trooper with little or no affectations, he turns himself into the butt of jokes aimed at the fat suit he wears. ("Many Canadians would see him here for his appearance in a low-budget commercial for Listerine!") His easy-on, easy-go approach to life, even totally specific in the fantasy world of show business, stems from his upbringing. Living with his Italian-Ger-

man family, some a butcher's shop in Union City, N.J., across the Hudson River from lower Manhattan, Del Grande learned early how to live without much money and, as a result, decided it was not overly important. Rounding matters: *Sevens Thence* landed his ambitions, and at 35 he quit school, crossed the river and began to frequent off-off Broadway theatres and actors' walkout lofts above warehouses.



Green, Del Grande: Right picks, infectious sense of fun

In the early 1960s he met Gibson, a native of Elizabeth, N.J., who went to Greenwich Village to become an actor. They married in 1966, both 22 years old.

That year proved fateful as Del Grande and Gibson, with 1969 in suits in their pockets, emigrated to Ontario for work at the Stratford Festival. "In those days," he recalled, "anybody could get locked overnight states

They let everybody in 'While Bradford's Shakespearean work did combine easily with Del Grande's in-spired ethnic encephalitis, the Canadian theatre bug took its bite. After moving to Toronto in the mid-1960s, he played in, wrote and directed plays in little theatres such as the Stratford Theatre Festival. Then, in 1973, he got a job charming out scripts for the CBC radio series *Private Lives* with Janet Jones, starring Joan MarCUS.

But the dramatic pace of his multifaceted life soured a job on his marriage. Gibson and Del Grande separated in 1966, then divorced. She worked as a legal secretary in Washington, D.C., and acted in small theatre companies before returning to Toronto, at Del Grande's request, in 1970 to appear in a play he was directing. In 1974 they remarried.

Now, Gibson and Del Grande own a comfortable show house in Toronto's affluent neighborhood of Invernessdale, although Gibson confesses that working together and living together, is a sort of family-run early stage theatre, not a "V.I.C. band." At home, however, their three adopted children keep them too busy to watch studio gossip. They are devoted, practicing Catholics and they actively promote the values their religious teacher. Said Del Grande: "The demagogues that the *Sevens Thence* make a large segment of the 18-to-30 age group, younger viewers than the CBC generally holds. I wonder how many of those supposedly liberal fans know how big a dose of traditional values they are being fed every time they watch *Green* have a flashback and solve a murder."

Martha Solberg (during an appearance) and Fred LeBel (in a scene) among the values that *Sevens Thence* endorses. But those beliefs never overshadow the heavy wit and wit of Del Grande's encephalic personality. That egotism was transformed a theobosian genius into a champagne journalist into a precise classic.

## The pure exercise of power

DUPLESSIS

CBC, Jan. 10-Feb. 2 (broadcast comment; Jan. 15-Feb. 5 (closed session))

Duplessis, a seven-episode mini-series on the former premier of Quebec, was the most popular program ever aired in that province. Presented by CBC-TV's French language network to 1978 to an audience of two million, it opened Maurice Duplessis's career from 1936, when he was first elected premier, to his death in office in 1959. The program's phenomenal suc-

cessful resurrection in the late 1970s. Less than a year after coming to power, the once radical Parti Québécois created a statue of Duplessis in front of the provincial legislature to commemorate his pragmatic nationalist stance toward Ottawa. The series, appearing several months later, was timely, it is now even more so, because intellectuals and labor leaders are denouncing René Lévesque as the true inheritor of Duplessis's autocratic rule. Also appropriate is the selection of filmmaker Gerald Black, author of an exhaustive 1967 biography



Lévesque (left) and Yves Lévesque: a wealth of fascinating information about Quebec

cess was understandable, despite the English version. Black, among others, felt that the French original fairly portrayed Duplessis as a separatist before his time. Its detractors will feel the English version was more of a political ruse. What Quebec viewers devoted an entire year is finally available to English Canada in a reduced four-episode edited version. And, in a definitive attempt to measure audience preferences in the troubled debate between dubbing and subtitles, a dubbed version also begins later in the week.

Duplessis's regime was so conservative and authoritarian that "Duplessism" became Canada's only native variant on totalitarianism. But he let, as people called him, experienced an an-

alogy for Duplessis, to introduce the English version.

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authoritarian script reads every step Duplessis taught his aging province to dance.

Duplessis's genius lay in combining Quebec's enduring hatred of Ottawa with the trampolined persistence of timidity, integrity and common sense. He called those things at the expense of artists, union leaders and radical intellectuals, but they constituted a minority at the polls. Only a political animal with immense charisma could have faced such contradictory behavior—he was shrewd, persistent, biased, glib, cynical and brutal while a double whole. But Jean Lapointe's masterful performance as the premier leaves no doubt about how the semi-religious duplet convinced voters that only Duplessis, whose name his best men secretly backed, could drag them into the 20th century with funds.

The production budget for the original seven hours of television was a relatively minuscule \$300,000. As a result, the corridors of power in Duplessis' head went to main corridors and the occasional room, but rarely outside. However, director Mark Blawie cleverly used that confining studio space to focus images and emotions into a superior political soap opera. Baroque vignettes temper the melodrama. Duplessis promoting pop-up teachers to a room as sharing examples of technological progress, capturing last diplomats attending a cocktail like a president's function as he steps Duplessis to deny women the vote, and the premier insisting that the Union Nationale government does not spend—*it's* "indulgent." Some find the quick transitions between scenes are more cute than punchy, and it is pushing how jaded some leader Madeleine Parent keeps her makeup fresh in solitary confinement.

Although Lapointe dominates the screen, the supporting cast is impressive, especially Patricia Morin as Duplessis' faithful secretary, and Roger Kay as the Liberal leader, Adélard Godbout. But dubbing is terribly dulling, and the words in marked scenes are rooted in English-speaking Wozzmoos. On the other hand, the men have discovered a convincing bilingual accent, and Jean Fontaine's veiled interpretation of Duplessis is excellent. Although the subtitled version is more accurate and shows more in marked scenes spelling and grammatical errors. But the total face of the performances and Arnold's epic script: much away technical flaws, leaving a masterpiece of television art that both teaches and delights. —MARK CHAMBERLAIN

# Of bafflegab and Newspeak

By Allan Fotheringham

The Orwell industry is upon us and proceeds to last well into the year. There has been so much written about him that there is a superfluity of sources right seriously read in. Given that calmly, presently, one should attempt to steer the novice past the familiar *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm* into the field in which George Orwell excelled: his essays. He never bothered going to university but was an acute observer, a policeman instead, which may have had something to do with his looking into the finest nuances of his time. If you want to write, become a top five editor, talk it and run.

Luckily shines through everything Orwell wrote. One of the more brilliant things he did was a piece called "Politics and the English Language". It is contained in *In Front of Your Nose*, the fourth volume of his Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters. It is given about one hour of the radio over devoted for how to write.

1. Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to using in print.

2. Never use a long word where a short one will do.

3. If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.

4. Never use the passive where you can use the active.

5. Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.

6. Break any of these rules sooner than any contrived barbarism.

Orwell's essential point is that the more politicians and their scribes in that they can write clearly. Their way, unrecognizable soundbites do not come because they are dumb in their minds, their minds are fuzzy because they do not know how to use the language. The fight against and English, Orwell points out, is not the exclusive concern of writers. The decline of a language, he argues, must ultimately have political and economic causes. By Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

ting rid of bad habits in written English one can think more clearly, and "to think clearly is a necessary first step toward political regeneration."

Orwell says, "The great enemy of clear language is uncertainty." Those of us who make our living from language, day after deadly day, so various jobs, from the hands of our elected bosses are authorities on that simple truth. Fred Allen once said you could take all the sincerity in Hollywood and fit it into a goat's head, with enough room left for an aspirin's heart. This would be a good description of the so-

called Pressmaker. A former speaker of the B.C. legislature used to plead with members not to hurl "waffle" across the floor at each other. Finance Minister Mary Louie took Newspeak one step further by adding \$300 million to his budget to pretend it wasn't the same budget that had been already leaked to a TV crew. (Why didn't he "change" it by adding \$10 to it? Or \$1? Why didn't he cut it by \$1?)

Orwell's concern is not for the literary use of language, but merely language as instrument for expressing and not for concealing or persecuting thought." He shows that political abuse (this was 1947, remember) is connected with the decay of language. He points out that if you simplify your English, when you make a stupid remark its stupidity will be obvious, "even to yourself." All political language, from all parties, is designed "to make the sound terrible and harder repeatable, and to give an impression of solidity to pure wind."

The Prime Minister of this land, with his brilliant mind and Jesuitical certainty, can—and does—in Question Period make logic stand on its head and will deny the simplest truth, all in aid of the debating school game that one must never concede anything. Allan MacIsaac is the perfect example of Orwell's case that language is used as an instrument for misleading rather than expressing thought.

One of the reasons the Liberals are going down is because they think they have perfected this trick. It is to them a game, concealing their thoughts and intentions by a smoke screen of words even they do not believe. Don Giovanni wags-and-prays concede and then brings them in. Don Giovanni 18-cent gas to defeat the feeble Clarksons and then pokes an apple that assassin at the pump. One guesses to retire—and then carter. The abuse of the language can go on for only so long, and then the public eventually doesn't believe a single thing you say anymore. Orwell was right. The debasement of language eventually leads to debasement of politics. Because this government doesn't respect the former, it doesn't respect the latter either.



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